

New Series

Volume I, Number 1

January 1950

# The Review of English Studies

*A Quarterly Journal of  
English Literature and the English Language*

Editor

JOHN BUTT, B.Litt., M.A.

Secretary

JANET HESELTINE

## CONTENTS

The Wheel of Fortune in Shakespeare's Historical Plays. By Raymond Chapman	1
Henry Chettle and the First Quarto of <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> . By Sidney Thomas	8
Boccaccio and English Highwaymen. By Herbert G. Wright	17
Dr. Johnson and Imagery. By Cecil S. Emden	23
Jane Austen and her Early Public. By Charles Beecher Hogan	39

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

Charles Gildon and the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns (J. C. Maxwell)	55
Crousaz on Pope (R. W. Chapman)	57
Mary Barton and Historical Accuracy (D. S. Bland)	58

(Continued at foot of next page)

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

Single number: 8/6 net. Subscription for four consecutive numbers: 30/-

# The Review of English Studies

*Advisory Panel:* H. S. BENNETT, M.A.; SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS, K.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A.; R. W. CHAPMAN, D.Litt., LL.D.; H. B. CHARLTON, M.A., D. de Dijon, Litt.D.; UNA M. ELLIS-FERMOR, B.Litt., M.A., D.Lit.; B. IFOR EVANS, M.A., D.Lit.; DOROTHY EVERETT, M.A.; W. W. GREG, Litt.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A.; SIR HERBERT GRIERSON, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A.; EDITH J. MORLEY, M.A.; ALLARDYCE NICOLL, M.A.; A. W. REED, D.Lit.; PERCY SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt.; KENNETH SISAM, M.A., F.B.A.; D. NICHOL SMITH, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.; JAMES R. SUTHERLAND, M.A., B.Litt.; ALICE WALKER, D.Litt.; F. P. WILSON, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.; J. DOVER WILSON, C.H., Litt.D., F.B.A.; C. L. WRENN, M.A.

---

MSS. offered for publication, correspondence on the subject-matter of the Journal, and books for review should be addressed to The Editor, *The Review of English Studies*, c/o Clarendon Press, Oxford. Authors of articles printed will be entitled to 25 free offprints and may buy additional copies if application is made to the Editor when returning corrected proofs.

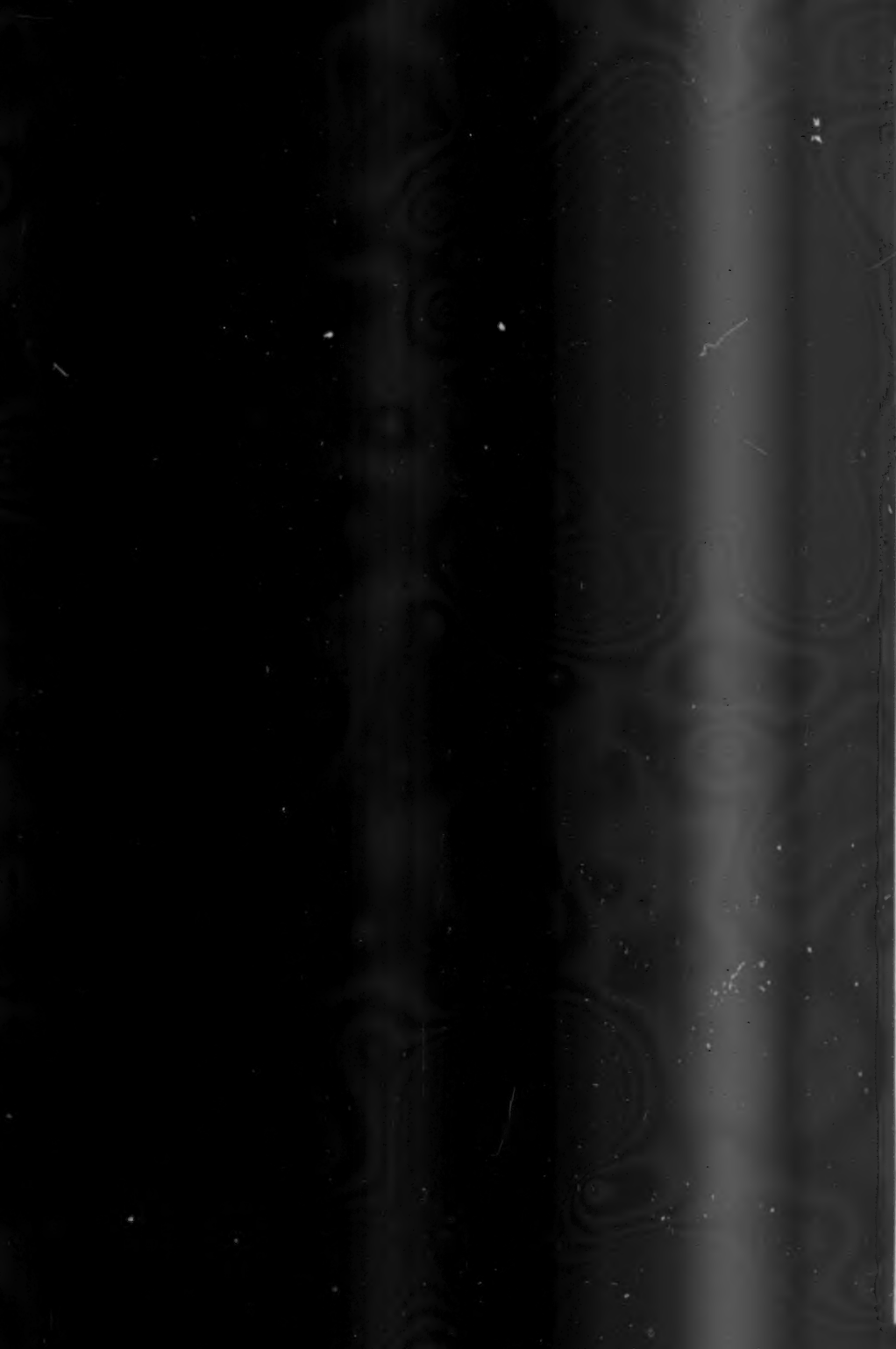
All other correspondence should be addressed to the Publisher: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E.C. 4.

---

## CONTENTS (*continued*)

REVIEWS, ETC.: The Good Wife taught her Daughter. The Good Wyfe wold a Pylgremage. The Thewis of Gud Women, ed. T. F. Mustanoja, 61; The French Bandello: a Selection. The original text of four of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* translated by Geoffrey Fenton and William Painter. Anno 1567, ed. F. S. Hook, 62; Shakespeare and Sir Philip Sidney. The Influence of 'The Defense of Poesy', by A. Thaler, 63; The Bad Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet': a bibliographical and textual study, by H. R. Hoppe, 64; Shakespeare's Producing Hand, by R. Flatter, 66; Shakespeare Survey: An Annual Survey of Shakespearian Study and Production. I, ed. A. Nicoll, 70; Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery. Vol. II. A Bibliography of Emblem Books, by M. Praz, 72; Crabbed Age and Youth. The Old Man and Woman in the Restoration Comedy of Manners, by Elizabeth Mignon, 73; First follow Nature. Primitivism in English Poetry 1725-1750, by Margaret M. Fitzgerald, 75; Studies in the Literary Backgrounds of English Radicalism, with special references to the French Revolution, by M. R. Adams, 76; The Theology of William Blake, by J. G. Davies, 77; The Romantic Comedy, by D. G. James, 78; Keats and the Daemon King, by W. W. Beyer, 80; Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review, by J. A. Greig, 82; Der Einfluss der deutschen Literatur auf die englische im 19. Jahrhundert, by W. F. Schirmer, 83; Arthurian Torso, containing the Posthumous Fragment of 'The Figure of Arthur', by C. Williams, 84; English Studies 1948, ... collected ... by F. P. Wilson, 86; The Poetic Image, by C. Day Lewis, 87; A Handbook of English Grammar, by R. W. Zandvoort, 89; Short Notices, 91; Summary of Periodical Literature, by A. Macdonald, 92.







THE REVIEW OF ENGLISH STUDIES

NEW SERIES, VOLUME I

### *Advisory Panel*

- H. S. BENNETT, M.A.  
SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS, K.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A.  
R. W. CHAPMAN, D.Litt., LL.D.  
H. B. CHARLTON, M.A., D. de Dijon, Litt.D.  
UNA M. ELLIS-FERMOR, B.Litt., M.A., D.Lit.  
B. IFOR EVANS, M.A., D.Lit.  
DOROTHY EVERETT, M.A.  
SIR WALTER W. GREG, D.Litt., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.  
SIR HERBERT GRIERSON, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A.  
EDITH J. MORLEY, M.A.  
ALLARDYCE NICOLL, M.A.  
A. W. REED, D.Lit.  
PERCY SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt.  
KENNETH SISAM, M.A., F.B.A.  
D. NICHOL SMITH, LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.  
JAMES R. SUTHERLAND, M.A., B.Litt.  
ALICE WALKER, D.Litt.  
F. P. WILSON, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.  
J. DOVER WILSON, C.H., Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.  
C. L. WRENN, M.A.

# THE REVIEW OF ENGLISH STUDIES

*A Quarterly Journal of  
English Literature and the English Language*

Edited by  
JOHN BUTT, B.LITT., M.A.

NEW SERIES, VOLUME I

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS  
1950

*Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C. 4*

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON

BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS CAPE TOWN

*Geoffrey Cumberlege, Publisher to the University*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD  
BY CHARLES BATEY, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE  
R  
HEN  
T  
THE  
VIR  
th  
Cor  
LEO  
SHA  
FUL  
THE  
THE  
THE  
BOC  
DR.  
COL  
JAN  
HAL  
W

# CONTENTS

*Articles, and Notes and Observations, are arranged by subject in  
chronological order*

## ARTICLES

	PAGE
THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE IN SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORICAL PLAYS. By Raymond Chapman . . . . .	I
HENRY CHETTLER AND THE FIRST QUARTO OF <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> . By Sidney Thomas . . . . .	8
THE TRAGIC CONFLICT IN <i>Hamlet</i> . By J. J. Lawlor . . . . .	97
VIRTUE IS THE TRUE NOBILITY: A STUDY OF THE STRUCTURE OF <i>All's Well that Ends Well</i> . By M. C. Bradbrook . . . . .	289
<i>Coriolanus</i> , ARISTOTLE, AND BACON. By F. N. Lees . . . . .	114
LEONTES A JEALOUS TYRANT. By Paul N. Siegel . . . . .	302
SHAKESPEARE'S ACTORS. By S. L. Bethell . . . . .	193
FULKE GREVILLE'S DRAMATIC CHARACTERS. By Peter Ure . . . . .	308
THE SOURCE OF <i>The Emperour of the East</i> . By J. E. Gray . . . . .	126
THE PRIVATE IMAGERY OF HENRY VAUGHAN. By Frank Kermode . . . . .	206
THE GAME OF OMBRE IN <i>The Rape of the Lock</i> . By W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. . . . .	136
BOCCACCIO AND ENGLISH HIGHWAYMEN. By Herbert G. Wright . . . . .	17
DR. JOHNSON AND IMAGERY. By Cecil S. Emden . . . . .	23
COLERIDGE AND SOUTHEY IN BRISTOL, 1795. By George Whalley . . . . .	324
JANE AUSTEN AND HER EARLY PUBLIC. By Charles Beecher Hogan . . . . .	39
HALF-RHYME IN WILFRED OWEN: ITS DERIVATION AND USE. By D. S. R. Welland . . . . .	226

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

PAGE

An English Allusion to Montaigne before 1595. By M. Dominica Legge	341
A Note on <i>Henry V</i> , Act IV. By Allan Wilkinson	345
Jonson's <i>Volpone</i> and Traditional Fox Lore. By D. A. Scheve	242
A Seventeenth-century Guide to Character Writing. By B. L. Joseph	144
Dryden's French Borrowings. By E. A. Horsman	346
Charles Gildon and the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. By J. C. Maxwell	55
Addison's Portrait of the Neo-Classical Critic ( <i>The Tatler</i> , No. 165). By Katherine E. Wheatley	245
Crousaz on Pope. By R. W. Chapman	57
The Reading Public in 1803. By R. W. Chapman	144
<i>The British Quarterly Review</i> . By R. V. Osbourn	147
<i>Mary Barton</i> and Historical Accuracy. By D. S. Bland	58
<i>David Copperfield</i> : From Manuscript to Print. By John Butt	247
Arnold and Johnson. By Kathleen Tillotson	145

## CORRESPONDENCE

The Naming of Characters. By Elsie Elizabeth Duncan-Jones and R. W. Chapman	252
REVIEWS	61, 153, 253, 352
SHORT NOTICES	91, 184, 280
SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE	92, 186, 281, 381
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.	191, 387
INDEX	390

## LIST OF REVIEWERS

341 The reviews and short notices printed in *R.E.S.*, N.S., i (1950) were con-  
 345 tributed by the following:

242	Abbott, C. C.	Gordon, D. J.	Mennie, D. M.
144	Alexander, P.	Greg, W. W.	Mossé, F.
	Bateson, F. W.	Hanson, L. W.	Nosworthy, J. M.
346	Boas, F. S.	Hodgson, Phyllis	Owst, G. R.
	Brett, R. L.	Horne, C. J.	Pafford, J. H. P.
	Brook, G. L.	Horsman, E. A.	Prince, F. T.
	Bullough, G.	Housman, J. E.	Robson, W. W.
55	Callan, N.	Humphreys, A. R.	Secord, A. W.
	Chapman, R. W.	Kettle, A. C.	Shapiro, I. A.
	Christian, Ruth	Ketton-Cremer, R. W.	Sharrock, R.
245	Coghill, N.	King, R. W.	Sparrow, J.
	Davis, N.	Latham, A. M. C.	Stewart, J. I. M.
57	Dobrée, B.	Leech, C.	Sutherland, J. R.
	Donner, H. W.	Leishman, J. B.	Tillotson, G.
144	Ellis-Fermor, Una	Low, D. M.	Tillotson, Kathleen
	Everett, Dorothy	Macdonald, A.	Tompkins, J. M. S.
147	Freeman, Rosemary	Macdonald, H.	Ure, P.
	Frye, N.	McIlwraith, A. K.	White, Beatrice
58	Galway, Margaret	Margoliouth, H. M.	Wrenn, C. L.
247	Gibson, S.	Maxwell, J. C.	Wright, B. A.
45	Gifford, H.		

**T**  
niz  
Sha  
less  
tho  
and  
the  
inv

**R**  
soc  
Th  
of  
look  
hist  
and  
and  
god  
chil  
bec  
earl  
She  
fick  
wel  
hov  
of



# The Review of English Studies

VOL. I, NEW SERIES, No. 1

JANUARY 1950

## THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE IN SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORICAL PLAYS

By RAYMOND CHAPMAN

THE significances of Shakespeare's plays on subjects of English history have received considerable attention in recent criticism. It is recognized that they have an importance beyond their place in the canon of Shakespearian drama. The Elizabethans had good cause to heed the lessons of history, and many of the fundamental points of their political thought are to be found in these plays. The preservation of hierarchy and natural order is vital; a king is 'the deputy elected by the Lord'; the rebel is condemned, but once successful and crowned he too becomes inviolate.

Perhaps the tendency to regard Shakespeare's histories as politico-social documents has obscured an older tradition which lies behind them. These plays are in fact dramatic versions of the medieval theme of the fall of kings. Shakespeare said so much that was new, that it is easy to overlook the conventions of much of his work. The full understanding of his histories depends on some knowledge of the contemporary view of kings and kingship, a view closely linked with the Fortune-theme of medieval and Renaissance literature. The development of ideas about the Roman goddess Fortuna has been studied in some detail.<sup>1</sup> The local patroness of childbearing seized the imagination of Imperial Rome, so that her cult became one of the most important in the Empire. Catholic theology, after early attempts to explain her away, incorporated her into orthodox thought. She became the handmaid of God, Regent of the Earth. Her traditional fickleness was part of the divine punishment of human sin. Dante, in a well-known passage, sums up the medieval attitude.<sup>2</sup> Popular literature, however, invested her with greater power, making her supreme arbitress of human destiny. Nowhere was she more powerful than in the courts of

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (New York, 1927).

<sup>2</sup> *Inferno*, vii. 67-99.

kings, for she was jealous of prosperity and the highest place was most subject to her malice. Her ever-turning Wheel carried men from greatness to ruin in a moment.

Renaissance neo-classicism equated Fortuna with Occasio, and borrowed certain of the latter's emblems. It was at this time that Fortune acquired her forelock, which must be grasped before she fled away. Elizabethan drama absorbed this new conception together with the mass of medieval tradition. The idea that kings are the sport of Fortune is strongly developed in the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1555 John Wayland wrote on the title-page of his edition of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*:

The tragedies gathered by Jhon Bochas, of all such Princes as fell from theyr estates through the mutability of Fortune since the creacion of Adam until his time.

Four years later, Baldwin wrote, in the preface to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, of his wish:

To haue the storye contynewed from where as Bochas lefte unto this presente time, chiefly of suche as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande: whiche might be as a myrrour for all men as well noble as others, to shewe the slyppery deceytes of the wauering lady, and the due rewarde of all kinde of vices.

As the characters of the *Mirror* make their 'confessions' to Baldwin, Fortune is continually blamed for their disasters.

The uncertainty of kingly state is sometimes described in medieval literature by the Latin formula, *regnabo, regno, regnavi, sum sine regno*. It is impossible to determine whether these words arose from the Fortune-theme or had an independent beginning, but by the end of the Middle Ages the two were inseparable. The four states of the king correspond to the four positions on the Wheel of Fortune—rising, ruling, falling, and cast off. It is often maintained by medieval writers that the act of getting on the Wheel at all is voluntary, and that those who aspire to greatness expose themselves wilfully to the vicissitudes of Fortune. This view is developed by Boccaccio, who describes how he saw in a dream men climbing a wheel with the words 'I reign,' while others, falling, cried 'I am without reign'.<sup>1</sup> A similar connexion is made by Gower:

Fert ut luna suam fortuna perambula speram,  
Decrescit subito, crescit et illa cito:  
Crescit, decrescit, stabilis nec in ordine sistit,  
Et nunc subtus ea, nunc est in orbe supra.  
Regnabo, regno, regnavi, sum sine regno,  
Omnes sic breviter decepti illud iter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Amorosa Vision*, cap. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Vox Clamantis*, ii. 151-6.

Representative of the popular view is a short anonymous poem using a threefold formula, not here expressly linked with Fortune:

'Kinge i sitte, and loke aboute,  
to morwen y mai beon wipoute.'  
'Wo is me, a kinge ich was;  
Þis world, ich louede bote þat, ilas!  
Nouth longe gon i was ful riche;  
Now is riche and poure iliche.'  
'Ich shal beo king, þat men shulle seo,  
When pou, wrecche, ded shalt beo.'<sup>1</sup>

This was the view which Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists inherited. The plays written in the half-century from 1570 to 1620 are full of references to the power of Fortune over men in great place. Thus, for example, Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* opens with a dumb-show, in which Fortune herself appears, with

four Kings with broken Crownes and Scepters, chained in siluer Giues and led by her. . . . Fortune takes her Chaire, the Kings lying at her feete, shee treading on them as shee goes vp.

Fortune raises men to the seat of kingship<sup>2</sup> or casts them down from her ever-turning Wheel.<sup>3</sup> This conception of a relentless alternation of rise and fall is clearly susceptible of extended dramatic treatment. It is the pattern which lies beneath Shakespeare's history-plays, particularly as a linking theme of the great tetralogy. Throughout *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, he had the *regnabo* formula in mind. As well as direct references to Fortune, there are metaphors of rising and falling to describe the changing luck of the chief protagonists. When the first play opens, Richard holds the highest place on the Wheel. Confirmed in lawful succession, he can truly say, *regno*. Bolingbroke is *regnabo*, aspiring to the throne. The next turn of the Wheel must draw him up and cast Richard down. The latter understands the situation, and it is no accident that his comments on the progress of events so often use expressions of rise and fall. 'When the first threat is made against him, he assures his followers that he is still at the top of the Wheel:

Look not to the ground,  
Ye favourites of a King: are we not high?  
High be our thoughts. (III. ii. 87.)<sup>4</sup>

When he yields at Flint, the image of the slowly turning Wheel gives new significance and pathos to his words:

<sup>1</sup> *Political Religious and Love Poems* (ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1903), p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *The Battle of Alcazar* (sig. C verso); *Poetaster*, v. i. 47; *Selimus* (sig. A verso).

<sup>3</sup> *Edward II*, v. v. 59; *Caesar's Revenge* (sig. C 2); *Hoffman* (sig. G 3).

<sup>4</sup> References are to the 'Arden' edition of the plays.

Down, down I come: like glistening Phaëton,  
 Wanting the manage of unruly jades . . .  
 Come down? Down, court! down, King. (III. iii. 178.)

In *Old Fortunatus* (I. i), kings ruined by Fortune are described as 'young Phaetons'.

In the deposition scene, when Bolingbroke vows to 'ascend the regal throne', Richard replies in imagery drawn from yet another medieval convention. The changes of Fortune are sometimes compared to two buckets in a well, alternately rising and falling. This idea appears in the *Remède de Fortune* of Guillaume de Machaut:

Pren moy deus seaus en un puis,  
 Qu' assez bien comparer li puis:  
 L'uns est pleins, li autres vuis;  
 Et se l'un monte,  
 L'autre descent; tout ainsi truis.  
 Que Fortune par ses conduis  
 Monte l'un, l'autre avale, et puis  
 Rien n'i aconté  
 A roy, a duc, a per n'a conte.<sup>1</sup>

As Richard takes off his crown for the last time, he remembers this old tale of Fortune's malice:

Now is this golden crown like a deep well  
 That owes two buckets, filling one another,  
 The emptier ever dancing in the air,  
 The other down, unseen and full of water;  
 That bucket down and full of tears am I,  
 Drinking my griefs, while you mount up on high. (IV. i. 184.)

When the act of abdication is made, and he sees the rabble hanging on the Wheel at Bolingbroke's heels, Richard turns on them with the accusation:

Conveyers are you all,  
 That rise thus nimble by a true king's fall. (IV. i. 317.)

The idea still haunts him; Northumberland is the 'ladder' by which 'mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne' (V. i. 55). In the last minutes before his death, he reflects:

Thoughts tending to content flatter themselves  
 That they are not the first of Fortune's slaves,  
 Nor shall not be the last. (V. v. 23.)

The other characters of the play are also conscious of Fortune's power. The Queen fears 'some unborn sorrow, ripe in Fortune's womb' (II. ii. 10);

<sup>1</sup> Ed. E. Hoepffner (Paris, 1908), II. 969 ff., cf. Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, I. 675.

her 'fortune runs against the bias' (III. iv. 5). Bolingbroke awaits the growth of his 'infant fortune' (II. iii. 66). Salisbury says of Richard, 'crossly to thy good all Fortune goes' (II. iv. 23), and later that his 'fortune is o'er-thrown' (III. ii. 72). The Gardener, using the metaphor of the balance, tells the Queen:

King Richard, he is in the mighty hold  
Of Bolingbroke: their fortunes both are weighed. (III. iv. 83.)

At the end of *Richard II*, Bolingbroke is securely enthroned at the top of the Wheel. When the next play begins, his position is already threatened. Two rivals contest for the *regnabo* place. The Prince holds it as his right by natural succession; some may doubt his power to hold it, but his first soliloquy proves that he is conscious of the heights to which he must rise. He is challenged by Hotspur, 'sweet Fortune's minion and her pride', who vows to set his own hand to the Wheel and to 'Lift the down-trod Mortimer As high in the air as this unthankful King' (I. iii. 135). His words recall the boast of Tamburlaine that he can 'with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about' (*Tamburlaine*, Part 1, I. ii. 173). The rebels know that their success depends on the whim of Fortune. Northumberland advises his son:

That with our bold conjunction we should on,  
To see how Fortune is disposed to us. (IV. i. 38.)

Worcester directly accuses Henry of owing his throne only to 'Fortune showering on your head' (v. i. 47). After the victory at Shrewsbury, insecurity is not relieved. In Part 2, Henry meditates on the mutability of life, and recalls Richard's condemnation of his revolt (III. i. 45 ff.). The past cannot be escaped; Westmoreland recalls the fatal quarrel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, and wonders 'on whom Fortune would then have smiled' if the duel had been fought (IV. i. 133). At last the King himself recognizes the vanity of Fortune's gifts and cries out against her:

Will Fortune never come with both hands full,  
But write her fair words still in foulest letters? (IV. iv. 103.)

For him, too, the Wheel must turn, and Death lays him in the dust with Richard; *sum sine regno*.

In *Henry V* there are few references to Fortune. The new King is the ideal, freed from enemies at home and able to increase his country's power in foreign wars. He has risen at last to the top of the Wheel, and there is none to threaten his place; but we are not to forget Fortune. Fluellen's detailed and pedantic description of her, bristling with common-places, appears almost at the central point of the play. It is a subtle reminder of the power which has raised and chastened the House of

Lancaster (III. vi. 28). The last words of the play return to the Fortune theme. The Epilogue tells us that Henry V was specially favoured by the goddess, but that the same security did not descend to his son:

Fortune made his sword,  
By which the world's best garden he achieved,  
And of it left his son imperial lord . . .  
Whose state so many had the managing,  
That they lost France and made his England bleed.

Shakespeare's other historical plays do not present such a planned use of the Fortune theme, but the power of Fortune over the action is not ignored. The first two parts of *Henry VI* have few references; but Part 3, with its continual struggle between York and Lancaster to gain the top of the Wheel, gives many opportunities for her appearance. Edward recognizes his *regnabo* position, and knows the dangers of a quick rising which leads to a quicker fall. 'Good Fortune bids us pause', he says after his victory at Towton (II. vi. 31). In the face of reverses, he turns to the defences of his own character against external attack:

Though Fortune's malice overthrow my state,  
My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel. (IV. iii. 47.)

Favoured again by Fortune, he is content to submit to her control. She 'maketh us amends' (IV. vii. 2) and 'keeps an upward course' (V. iii. 1), for it is the brave who 'climb soonest unto crowns' (IV. vii. 62).

Henry also understands the turning of the Wheel. He considers how he may escape disaster by the conventional way of humility, by voluntarily leaving the *regno* place:

I may conquer Fortune's spite  
By living low, where Fortune cannot hurt me. (IV. vi. 19.)

Warwick, too, advises him to avoid 'Fortune's malice' by abdicating (IV. vi. 28). Henry falls because his weakness makes him unfit either to remain at the top of the Wheel or to resist its changes. Margaret speaks in the same vein when she says to King Lewis:

Mischance hath trod my title down,  
And with dishonour laid me on the ground  
Where I must take like seat unto my fortune. (III. iii. 8.)

Lewis, however, counsels her not to yield to 'Fortune's yoke' (III. iii. 16). In this play it is Warwick who, like Hotspur and Tamburlaine, seeks to usurp Fortune's office and set his own hand to her Wheel. His actions in creating and casting down the rival kings are those traditionally attributed to Fortune. He is called 'proud setter-up and puller-down of kings' (III. iii. 157) and he himself boasts:

I was the chief that raised him to the crown,  
And I'll be chief to bring him down again. (III. iii. 262.)

To Edward before Barnet he says, 'Confess who set thee up and plucked thee down' (v. i. 26). In almost his last words, he comments on the last state of all, *sum sine regno*:

What is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?  
And, live we how we can, yet die we must. (v. ii. 28.)

The other plays yield little of interest on the theme of Fortune's Wheel. If *Henry VIII* is to be considered in the canon of Shakespeare's histories, it shows an interesting transference of the idea to a non-royal character. Wolsey, not the King, bears the turn of the Wheel, for which his 'tragedy' in the *Mirror for Magistrates* may have been partly responsible. He is yet another who will himself turn Fortune's Wheel as he desires (II. ii. 20), for he is her 'eldest son'; his pride is said to make him share her traditional blindness (ibid.). She has raised him (II. iv. 111), and in his ruin his thoughts follow the descent of her Wheel. He has reached the fatal top of the Wheel, from which there can be no movement but descent:

I have touched the highest point of all my greatness;  
And from that full meridian of my glory,  
I haste now to my setting; I shall fall  
Like a bright exhalation in the evening. (III. ii. 223.)

He confides to Cromwell that he is 'fall'n indeed' and 'falls like Lucifer' (ibid. 371, 374); Anne Bullen was 'the weight that pulled me down' (ibid. 407).

Shakespeare had in mind a literary convention much older than the chronicle-histories of his dramatic predecessors. To the contemporary audience, kings and nobles were clinging to the ever-turning Wheel of Fortune, rising, falling, or about to fall. There is no condemnation of those who choose to mount the Wheel. The spirit of these plays is expressed in the 'tragedy' of Collingbourne in the *Mirror for Magistrates*:

We knowe, say they, the course of Fortunes whele,  
How constantly it whyrleth styll about,  
Arrearing nowe, whyle elder headlong reele,  
Howe all the riders alway hange in doubt.  
But what for that? We count him but a lowte  
That stickes to mount, and basely like a beast  
Lyves temperately for feare of blockam feast.<sup>1</sup>

Not many of the Elizabethan dramatists fully developed the possibilities of Fortune as a dramatic theme. Shakespeare made a brilliant use of the implications of the medieval convention, which may justly add a little more to the record of his greatness.

<sup>1</sup> Tragedy 23, ll. 22 ff.

John?  
many  
references



## HENRY CHETTLE AND THE FIRST QUARTO OF *ROMEO AND JULIET*

By SIDNEY THOMAS

ONE of the most important and puzzling problems connected with the text of *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>1</sup> is the presence in the 'bad' first quarto of a number of passages, including one whole scene, which are fundamentally different from the corresponding passages in the 'good' second quarto. These un-Shakespearian sections in Q1 include the meeting in Friar Laurence's cell (II. vi), Juliet's short speech corresponding to III. ii. 57-60, the lamentation scene (IV. v. 43-95), and Paris's speech at Juliet's tomb (V. iii. 12-17). The explanation of these curious passages which is now generally accepted is that they represent the patchwork of an actor-reporter, forced to improvise material of which he had only the vaguest recollection. Both Sir Edmund Chambers<sup>2</sup> and Dr. W. W. Greg,<sup>3</sup> for example, find nothing in these passages which is beyond the supposed capacity of a hypothetical reporter. The most ingenious form of the theory that the un-Shakespearian sections of Q1 are the creation of a reporter is that which has been put forward by Professor Harry R. Hoppe.<sup>4</sup> He assumes that the reporter who put together Q1 based his text on an abridged acting-version which did not contain certain scenes and speeches, and was therefore compelled to supply these passages on the basis of his dim memory of the complete version in which he had once appeared.

If the un-Shakespearian material in Q1 consisted only of the antique lamentation scene, there would be no difficulty in assigning it to a reporter. The stiff, repetitious, and laboured poetry of this passage could have been produced by almost any literate and experienced actor (though it should be said that the presumably Shakespearian lamentation scene in Q2 is little better). The same thing is true of the five lines which Juliet speaks in Q1 in place of Q2's III. ii. 57-60:

Ah *Romeo*, *Romeo*, what disaster hap  
Hath seuerd thee from thy true *Juliet*?  
Ah why shou'd Heauen so much conspire with Woe,  
Or Fate enuie our happie Marriage,  
So soone to sunder us by timelesse Death?<sup>5</sup>

The stilted diction and banal epithets, the commonplace emotion and

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the trustees of the Folger Shakespeare Library for the grant of a fellowship for 1947-8, which enabled me to work on this and other studies.

<sup>2</sup> *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), i. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1942), p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> 'The First Quarto Version of *Romeo and Juliet*, II. vi and IV. v. 43 ff.', *R.E.S.* xiv (1938), 271-84.

<sup>5</sup> *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, Sig. F3<sup>v</sup>.



clumsy rhythm of these lines, are certainly far below the Shakespearian level. This, as has often been pointed out, is the kind of poetry that we get in the less-inspired sections of Greene's or Peele's plays. It is the sort of material which we find in one 'bad' quarto after another. A great poet could, perhaps, have written something of this sort in an unguarded or hurried moment; but it is well within the scope of an ordinary hack-writer, familiar with the clichés of the period.

The meeting at the cell, however, is a far different matter; a careful analysis of this scene as it is given in Q1 will reveal, I think, the impossibility of attributing it to a reporter. The scene is relatively short and may therefore be given in full:

*Enter Romeo, Friar.*

*Rom:* Now Father *Laurence*, in thy holy grant  
Consists the good of me and *Iuliet*.

*Fr:* Without more words I will doo all I may,  
To make you happie if in me it lye.

*Rom:* This morning here she pointed we should meet,  
And consumate those neuer parting bands,  
Witnes of our harts loue by ioyning hands,  
And come she will.

*Fr:* I gesse she will indeede,  
Youths loue is quicke, swifter than swiftest speed.

*Enter Iuliet somewhat fast, and embraceth Romeo.*  
See where she comes.

So light of foote nere hurts the troden flower:  
Of loue and ioy, see see the soueraigne power.

*Iul: Romeo.*

*Rom:* My *Iuliet* welcome. As doo waking eyes  
(Cloasd in Nights mysts) attend the frolicke Day,  
So Romeo hath expected *Iuliet*,  
And thou art come.

*Jul:* I am (if I be Day)

Come to my Sunne: shine forth, and make me faire.

*Rom:* All beauteous fairnes dwelleth in thine eyes.

*Iul:* *Romeo* from thine all brightnes doth arise.

*Fr:* Come wantons, come, the stealing houres do passe  
Defer imbracements till some fitter time,  
Part for a while, you shall not be alone,  
Till holy Church have ioynd ye both in one.

*Rom:* Lead holy Father, all delay seemes long.

*Iul:* Make hast, make hast, this lingring doth vs wrong.

*Fr:* O, soft and faire makes sweetest worke they say.  
Hast is a common hindrer in crosse way. *Exeunt omnes.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sig. E4<sup>r-v</sup>.

The first part of this scene is pedestrian enough; in its laboured rhythm and awkward phrasing, it is strikingly similar to the short speech of Juliet quoted above. The section following the entrance of Juliet, however, contains lines of extraordinary lyric beauty and dramatic effectiveness. Few things in the undoubtedly Shakespearian portions of the play surpass it in ecstatic fervour. In fact, it may be questioned whether the betrothal scene in the 'good' quarto, with its verbal triflings and coldly brilliant conceits, is quite as successful. The entire scene, as we have it in Q1, is skilfully conceived and carefully developed; the verse is professionally competent throughout, with a remarkably adroit use of broken lines. It seems to me incredible that any mere actor-reporter could have created this scene, particularly an actor-reporter who was responsible for the miserable distortions of sense and metre found in other sections of Q1.<sup>1</sup>

On an equally high level of poetic excellence is Paris's short speech at Juliet's tomb:

Sweete Flower, with flowers I strew thy Bridale bed:  
 Sweete Tombe that in thy circuite dost containe,  
 The perfect modell of eternitie:  
 Faire Iuliet that with Angells dost remaine,  
 Accept this latest favour at my hands,  
 That liuing honourd thee, and being dead  
 With funerall praises doo adorne thy Tombe.<sup>2</sup>

These lines, as many critics have agreed,<sup>3</sup> are superior to the corresponding passage in Q2. For a frigid and artificial speech they substitute an eloquent and moving apostrophe, nobly expressive in diction and cadence. Here, as in the scene of the meeting at the cell, it is impossible to accept the hypothesis of an improvising reporter. As Dr. van Dam put it, 'Nobody will believe that an adapter, a stenographer or even a hackney poet acting as assistant would have out-Shakespeare'd Shakespeare.'<sup>4</sup> It is equally difficult, however, to believe that Shakespeare himself could have written these passages in Q1 and that they should be combined, as Dr. van Dam suggested,<sup>5</sup> with the corresponding passages in Q2 to form the true text. For, beautiful as they are, neither the scene in the cell nor Paris's speech have the marks of Shakespeare's style. The diction, particularly of the first, has an old-fashioned cast to it, a somewhat deliberate

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the Q1 version of iv. 2 and v. 1. The first two acts and part of the third are remarkably well reported, and I am inclined to believe that the pirate had access to a manuscript there.

<sup>2</sup> Sig. I4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, F. G. Fleay, 'The Text of "Romeo and Juliet"', *Macmillan's Magazine*, July 1877, 199.

<sup>4</sup> B. A. P. van Dam, 'Did Shakespeare Revise *Romeo and Juliet*?', *Anglia*, N.F. xxix (1927), 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-4.

quality alien to the free and delighted play of language so characteristic of Shakespeare's early work. The occasional heaviness of rhythm in the betrothal scene is also un-Shakespearian.

More important is the fact that the characters in the cell scene are somewhat different from those created by Shakespeare, more vehement, cruder, less idealized. It is hard to imagine Shakespeare's Juliet, passionate as she is, crying out, 'Make hast, make hast, this lingring doth vs wrong.' Nor does the Friar's 'Come wantons, come, the stealing houres do passe' quite fit his character. The whole scene reads like the work of a fine poet and dramatist who was able to match Shakespeare in lyric fervour, but was totally incapable of his subtlety and delicacy of characterization.

The theory that the un-Shakespearian sections of Q1 are really pre-Shakespearian, that they represent unrevised portions of an old *Romeo and Juliet* play, seems first to have been presented by F. G. Fleay,<sup>1</sup> and has more recently been argued by Professor J. Dover Wilson and the late A. W. Pollard.<sup>2</sup> This hypothesis, attractive as it is, involves too many unprovable and improbable assumptions. We are required to believe that Shakespeare based his play on a somewhat older play (presumably written in the late 1580's or early 1590's) and that he did his revision of this older play in different stages, at intervals of a few years. The bibliographical evidence on which Wilson and Pollard mainly relied is now generally taken to prove something entirely different from their theory.<sup>3</sup>

I should like to suggest as a solution to the problem of the un-Shakespearian passages in Q1, that they are the work of an editor, commissioned by John Danter, the printer-publisher of Q1, to tidy up the manuscript supplied by the reporter and to fill in gaps; and I should like to suggest further that this editor was Henry Chettle. The external probability of this theory is so great that it is surprising that it has never been put forward before.<sup>4</sup> Chettle was Danter's business partner in 1591, and he seems to have maintained some kind of working relationship with him as late as 1596. In that year, he speaks of himself, in an epistle to the second part of Munday's *Primaleon of Greece*, printed by Danter, as having done all

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 195-202. Fleay believed that the first draft was written by Peele about 1593.

<sup>2</sup> 'Romeo and Juliet, 1597', *T.L.S.*, 14 Aug. 1919. F. G. Hubbard, *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet* (Madison, 1924), pp. 22-6, also argues that Q1 contains 'portions of the old play upon which the Shakespearian version of Q1 is founded', supporting his case by supposed parallels between older plays and the un-Shakespearian portions of Q1.

<sup>3</sup> The case against Wilson and Pollard's theory is summarized by Chambers, op. cit. i. 342-5.

<sup>4</sup> Fleay, op. cit., p. 199, declared: 'To [Chettle] Danter would probably apply for literary help'. He immediately added, however, 'But Chettle certainly did not write the stanza (i.e. Paris's speech at the tomb in Q1) in the text.'

he could to further the edition in the printing-house.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, then, no writer of the period, with the possible exception of Thomas Nashe,<sup>2</sup> was more closely associated with Danter in the period immediately preceding the printing of Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* than Chettle was.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, editorial revision and the preparation of manuscripts for the press was not a new form of activity for Chettle in 1597. As early as 1592 he had re-copied and prepared for publication the manuscript of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*.<sup>4</sup> Even more striking is the fact that, sometime between 1590 and 1594, he had been employed to supply a missing speech in the play manuscript, *John of Bordeaux*.<sup>5</sup> And the presence of his hand, as one of the revisers, in the famous *Book of Sir Thomas More*, is well known.<sup>6</sup> Chettle was precisely the kind of person, therefore, that Danter would have called upon to fill in missing or incomplete sections in the surreptitious copy of *Romeo and Juliet*.

External probability, however, is not enough of a basis for the assertion that Chettle was responsible for the un-Shakespearian sections of Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet*. Fortunately, it is possible to show a strong resemblance between the style of these sections and that of Chettle's known work, in diction, imagery, and phrasing. I do not propose to cite parallels between one commonplace phrase and another, of the kind which have rightly been discredited by most recent scholars. Rather I hope to show, on the one hand, that those words and phrases which have been generally recognized as antique and un-Shakespearian in the Q1 passages can be found in Chettle's work; and, on the other hand, that those characteristics of Chettle's poetic style which have been recognized by students of his work as most peculiar to him can be found in the disputed sections of Q1. The surviving *corpus* of Chettle's poetic and dramatic work is extremely small; and parallels which can be drawn between it and the few short Q1 passages

<sup>1</sup> Harold Jenkins, *The Life and Work of Henry Chettle* (London, 1934), pp. 5-18.

<sup>2</sup> Nashe seems to have been living in Danter's house in 1596, and R. B. McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1910), v. 28, ventures the opinion that he may have been acting 'in the capacity of corrector of the press or literary adviser'.

<sup>3</sup> Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 18, recognizing the close connexion between Danter and Chettle in 1596, expresses the hope that Chettle 'had no share in setting up the execrable quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* which Danter issued'.

<sup>4</sup> This statement is, of course, based upon Chettle's own avowal in *Kind-Hartes Dreame* (Bodley Head Quartos, ed. G. B. Harrison, London, 1923), pp. 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> *John of Bordeaux*, ed. W. L. Renwick (Malone Society Reprints, 1935), pp. vi, xiii. While Professor Renwick believes that this manuscript was made for a theatrical revival, he suggests the possibility that Chettle may 'have filled the gap as a preliminary to publication'. The parallel with Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* becomes even more striking if we accept Professor Renwick's opinion that *John of Bordeaux* is a corrupt and possibly surreptitious manuscript (pp. ix, xii).

<sup>6</sup> The identification of Hand A as Chettle's, first made by Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, is now generally accepted. See Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

are therefore more convincing than an equal number drawn between two extensive groups of work.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the words and phrases in the un-Shakespearean sections of Q1 are part of the general Elizabethan vocabulary; and it would be meaningless to instance examples of their use by Chettle. Even such a supposedly old-fashioned phrase as 'timelesse Death' can be paralleled a number of times in the work of Shakespeare himself. However, such phrases as 'disaster hap', 'frolicke Day', and 'perfect modell of eternitie', contain diction sufficiently rare in later Elizabethan work to give significance to the appearance of similar phrases in the work of Chettle:

With true reports of there disasterous haps. (*Hoffman*, G2<sup>v</sup>)

And frolicke life with murkie cloudes o're-spred. . . .

(*Englands Mourning Garment*, A3<sup>r</sup>)

True modle of true vertue, welcome childe. . . .

(*Patient Grissill*, H1<sup>r</sup>)

Such parallels of diction prove only that Chettle could have written the *Romeo and Juliet* passages; they provide only the slightest evidence that he did. Much stronger evidence is supplied by a comparison of Chettle's imagery with that of the cell scene. Nobody can read all of Chettle's poetry without being impressed by the narrow range of his imagery and his almost single-minded preoccupation with the contrast between clouds and sun. The late H. Dugdale Sykes declared:

The sun, clouds and mists form the stock subjects of his figurative speeches. His characters 'shine like the sun', his heroines 'chase' clouds (mists) of woe (sorrow, discontent) with their 'bright eyes'.<sup>2</sup>

And Mr. Harold Jenkins has found in Chettle's imagery 'a susceptibility to cloud and darkness and the contrasting brightness of sun or fire . . .'.<sup>3</sup>

The quality of this imagery can best be indicated by a group of quotations from Chettle's work. The following passages occur in *Hoffman*:

*Luci[bella]*. Nature, or art hath taught these boughes to spread,  
In manner of an arbour o're the banke.

<sup>1</sup> I have attempted to confine all my references to Chettle's work to his few undoubted and unaided publications in poetry and drama: *Englands Mourning Garment* (London, 1603) and *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (London, 1631), and to the autograph sections of the manuscript plays of *John of Bordeaux* and *Sir Thomas More*, already mentioned. To these may be added the four poems in *Englands Helicon* (Nos. 55, 68, 125, 130), which are now generally considered to be his [see the edition by Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), ii. 26-7]. Only occasionally, for confirmatory evidence, do I cite two plays in which Chettle is known to have had a hand, *Patient Grissill* (London, 1603) and *The Death of Robert Earle of Huntington* (London, 1601).

<sup>2</sup> 'The Dramatic Work of Henry Chettle', *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, xii (1923), 265.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 133.

*Lod[owick]*. No, they bow downe as vailes to shadow you:  
 And the fresh flowers beguiled by the light  
 Of your celestiaall eyes, open there leaves,  
 And when they entertaine the lord of day  
 You bring them comfort like the Sunne in May. (D4<sup>v</sup>-E1<sup>r</sup>)

*Luci[bella]*. Come *Lodowick*, and close vp my night-vaild eies  
 That neuer may agen behold the day. (E2<sup>r</sup>)

*Lodo[wick]*. My *Lucibell*, whose lights are mask't with clouds  
 That neuer will be cleard. (E2<sup>v</sup>)

*Hoff[man]*. Sleepe sweet fayre Dutchesse, for thou sleep'st thy last:  
 Endymions loue, muffle in cloudes thy face,  
 And all ye yellow tapers of the heauen  
 Vayle your cleare brightnes in Ciamerian mstis. . . . (H2<sup>r</sup>)

The same kind of imagery is found in *Englands Mourning Garment*:

*Collin*, thou look'st as lagging as the day,  
 When the Sun setting toward his western bed,  
 Shews, that like him, all glory must decay,  
 And frolicke life with murkie cloudes o're-spredd,  
 Shall leave all earthly beautie mongst the dead. . . . (A3<sup>r</sup>)

Death now hath ceaz'd her in his ycie armes,  
 That sometimes was the Sun of our delight:  
 And pittilesse of any after-harmes,  
 Hath veyld her glory in the cloude of night.  
 Nor doth one Poet seeke her name to raise,  
 That liuing hourelly striu'd to sing her praise. (D2<sup>v</sup>)

The similarity of this type of imagery to that which forms the basis of the cell scene in Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* is, I think, apparent. Chettle was not, of course, the only Elizabethan to use images of sun and clouds; such figures of speech abound in the drama and poetry of the period and can be found, for example, in the 'good' quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* itself. But Chettle was obsessed by this kind of image, as the author of the cell scene in Q1 seems to have been. For what is remarkable about the use of the sun-brightness-love image in this scene is the elaboration with which it is developed and embroidered.

Not only the imagery, but also the prosody of the cell scene has features characteristic of Chettle. Short as the scene is, it contains a trick of style of which Chettle was fond. Mr. Jenkins observes that '[a] habit of Chettle's was to interpolate a short line—sometimes of not more than a single foot—amongst quite normal lines of blank verse'.<sup>1</sup> The cell scene contains the two-foot line, 'See where she comes', between two lines of normal blank verse.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 97.



The spelling of the un-Shakespearian passages in Q1 also shows habits common to Chettle. The most important of these are the weak past participle in *-d*, without a preceding *-e* or apostrophe; and the use of the suffix *-es*, rather than *-esse*. The doubling of the final *-l*, which is almost invariable, both in these passages and in the work of Chettle, is so common in Elizabethan usage that it is of little significance. We are fortunate in having two passages of poetry in Chettle's autograph and a play which seems to have been printed from his manuscript, and we can therefore check his spelling habits easily. In Chettle's addition to *John of Bordeaux*, we have the spellings *condemnd* and *descride*.<sup>1</sup> In the much longer Chettle addition to *Sir Thomas More*, we have the spellings *placde*, *composde*, *imposde*, *honord*, *sanctifide*, *greeude*, *sufferd*, *loathd*, *abhord*, *brusd*, *hurtles*.<sup>2</sup> In *Hoffman*, we have the spellings *ioynd* (D4<sup>r</sup>), *compeld* (H1<sup>v</sup>), *fild* (H1<sup>v</sup>) *robd* (H3<sup>r</sup>), *dragd* (H3<sup>r</sup>), *ruthles* (B3<sup>r</sup>), *fleshles* (B3<sup>v</sup>), *heedles* (C4<sup>v</sup>). All of these spellings closely parallel such spellings of the un-Shakespearian parts of Q1 as *cloasd*, *ioynd*, *severd*, *honourd*, *fairnes*, *brightnes*, *witnes*. The spelling *doo*, which is found twice in the cell scene<sup>3</sup> and once in Paris's speech, appears twice in the Chettle portion of *More*. And the spellings *lingring* and *hindrer* of the cell scene are paralleled by the spelling *remembrer* in *More*.

Each of these spelling habits can be found in the work of many Elizabethan writers. Chettle was not the only poet of the period who habitually used certain spellings and archaic forms. What is remarkable, however, is the fact that *all* of the characteristic spelling habits of the author of the disputed passages of Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* are those of Chettle himself. In themselves, the resemblances of spelling between the Q1 passages and the undoubted work of Chettle do not prove Chettle's authorship; but they supply strong confirmation of arguments based on poetic grounds.

One final point may be added. The so-called 'descriptive' stage-directions of Q1 have been taken by most scholars to indicate a piracy based upon a report of an actual performance of *Romeo and Juliet*. Such a direction, for example, as that found in the cell scene, *Enter Iuliet somewhat fast, and embraceth Romeo*, has been held to indicate clearly, not the work of a practical dramatist, but that of a spectator. The surviving plays in which Chettle had a hand, however, are full of precisely such directions. The following is an incomplete listing of the literary stage-directions in *Hoffman*:

<sup>1</sup> *John of Bordeaux*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, ed. by W. W. Greg (Malone Society Reprints, 1911), pp. 66-8.

<sup>3</sup> It appears once in this scene as *do*, but an additional letter would have made the line run over the margin. Shakespeare's own spelling, judging by Q2 of *Romeo and Juliet* and Q1 of *Love's Labour's Lost*, both of which may have been printed from his autograph, was almost invariably *do*.

*He offers to Kill himself.*

(E2<sup>r</sup>)

*Enter Stilt, and a rabble of poore souldiers: old Stilt his father, with his scarfe like a Captaine. A scuruy march.*

(F1<sup>r</sup>)

*Enter Lorrique hastily.*

(G3<sup>v</sup>)

*Enter as many as may be spar'd, with lights, and make a lane kneeling while Martha the Dutchesse like a mourner with her traine passeth through.*

(H1<sup>r</sup>)

*All with doing duty depart, and she sits downe hauing a candle by her, and reades.*

(H1<sup>v</sup>)

In the *Death of Robert Earle of Huntington*, we have the following:

Stab him, he fals. (B1<sup>r</sup>)

*Matilda faints, and sits downe.* (F1<sup>r</sup>)

Hee seemes to locke a doore.

(H1<sup>v</sup>)

He stands staring and quaking . . .

Still he stands staring. (K3<sup>v</sup>)

All stand in Counsell.

(M1<sup>r</sup>)

And in *Patient Grissill*, another work in which Chettle collaborated, there are these directions, among others:

*Enter Grissill running with a Pitcher.* (B2<sup>r</sup>) *Enter Grissill stealingly.* (G1<sup>v</sup>)

(Gri.) *Run to him.*

(Marq.) *Turnes from her.* (G3<sup>r</sup>)

Enough has been said, I believe, to indicate at least a strong possibility that Chettle was the author of the so-called un-Shakespearian passages in Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet*. The likeness of these passages to the known work of Chettle in diction, imagery, prosody, spelling, and stage-directions is too striking to be accidental. Even more important, though less susceptible of proof, is the fact that the quality of the poetry in the Q1 lines is that of Chettle's best work. He was no ordinary hack-writer, as students of his work have lately come to realize, but a poet capable of creating verse of lyric beauty and exquisite sensibility. Certainly, when we attribute the disputed *Romeo and Juliet* passages to him, rather than to some actor-reporter, we are on reasonably safe critical ground.

POSTSCRIPT. Since this article was set up Professor Harry R. Hoppe, in *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Ithaca, New York, 1948), has mentioned Henry Chettle as a possible 'candidate for the office of reporter-versifier'. He refers to Chettle's connexions with Danter and his work on *John of Bordeaux*, and to 'suggestive resemblances' at times in *The Death of Robert Earle of Huntington* to *Romeo and Juliet* (Q1) in 'expressions and turns of phrase'. He seems, however, to feel that Q1 is the work of actor-pirates.

He has a low opinion of the poetic and intellectual quality of the un-Shakespearian verse in Q1. Of Paris's speech at Juliet's tomb he declares, 'The grammatical and logical absurdity of the last three lines (hands that, living, honored Juliet and, being dead, adorn her tomb) are symptomatic of the reporter's mental exhaustion by the time he reached the last scene of the play' (op. cit., p. 188). But this construction is precisely similar to that of the lines from Chettle's *Englands Mourning Garment* quoted above:

Nor doth one Poet seeke her name to raise,  
That liuing hourelly striu'd to sing her praise.



## BOCCACCIO AND ENGLISH HIGHWAYMEN

By HERBERT G. WRIGHT

THE growth of picaresque literature in the seventeenth century, further expanded in the next, sprang from the love of adventures in low life. At the same time these glimpses of the underworld were often accompanied by admonitions to follow good and shun evil. Hence the staid reader had all the thrill of a journey into a strange, exciting realm and the assurance that his own environment was safe and orderly.

Among such works Alexander Smith's *History of the most Noted Highway-Men, Foot-Pads, House-Breakers, Shop-lifts and Cheats* is conspicuous. In his preface to the first volume the author claims that his book will deter from vice and promote virtue, and he repeats his assertion in the second:

I believe no Body of common Sense, who sees how miserable these Wretches have made themselves by their evil Courses, will be tempted to tread in the same Steps, which lead so directly to the Gallows; therefore I only shew which Way they took, how they stumbled, and hope that no Man in his Wits will be incited to follow them.<sup>1</sup>

On occasion he interweaves a denunciation of drunkenness:

Thus we may evidently see the fatal Consequences of *Drunkenness*; which odious Vice is now become so fashionable, that we may too often behold Sots contending for Victory over a Pot, and taking the measure of their Bravery by the Strength of their Brains, or Capacity of their Bellies. Taverns and Alehouses are the common Academies of Sin, where Drunkards make themselves expert in all those Arts whereby they gratify *Satan*, and, as it were, in so many open Bravadoes, challenge the *Almighty* into the Field, and dare him to do the worst he can.<sup>2</sup>

At the close of his work he paints a terrifying picture of the end of these 'most wicked Wretches' and, far from seeking to glorify their deeds or awaken sympathy for them, declares:

The miserable Fate which they suffer'd was but their deserved Due, since all the Royal Indulgence which some of 'em have receiv'd, was only an Inlet to the Perpetrating more and greater Villanies, even to a Defiance of Justice drawing her Sword; wherefore as their Unparall[el]ed<sup>3</sup> Insolence insulted over the Laws of God and Man, by taking an Unaccountable Pride and Ambition in breaking both, we ought not to be sorry at the Hang-man's Meritorious Act of sending such case-harden'd Villains out of the Land of the Living.<sup>4</sup>

Such an edifying outlook seems to have little in common with that of the

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the fifth edition (London, 1719-20), ii, p. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Second edition (London, 1714), i. 102.

<sup>3</sup> The text has a misprint 'Unparalled'.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1714, ii. 286-8.

*Decameron*. It must, however, be remembered that in the English translation of 1620 every tale is provided with a moral, derived from certain editions of Antoine le Maçon's version, which perhaps in their turn go back to the medieval conception of Boccaccio as a learned moralist. Consequently, the English reader would interpret many stories in a way never intended by Boccaccio. Thus the adventures of Andreuccio da Perugia are taken to prove

how needfull a thing it is, for a man that trauelleth in affaires of the World, to be prouident and well aduised, and carefully to keepe himselfe from the crafty and deceitfull allurements of Strumpets.<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be ascertained whether Smith used this translation or not, but he borrowed this very tale and relates it as an episode in the life of Will Bew. The latter, after committing 'a very great Robbery and Rape on the Road'<sup>2</sup> is compelled to flee to France, where he meets with a series of adventures, which are merely those of Andreuccio. Apart from a slight abridgement here and there, the transference of the story from Naples to Paris, and the ultimate return of Will Bew to England, the original is imitated almost without disguise.

Evidently Smith felt that he had discovered<sup>3</sup> a source which ought to be exploited more thoroughly, and he afterwards drew again upon the *Decameron*. Thus in the fifth edition we find a condensed version of the eighth tale of the eighth day. The treatment is considerably freer than in the story of Will Bew. The leading figure is Jonathan Sympson, and the intrigue of his wife with a gallant is explained by the fact that she was the daughter of a wealthy merchant who, solely on financial grounds, had prevented her from marrying the man whom she loved. Thus a certain justification is provided for the intrigue. Another striking change is Smith's rejection of Boccaccio's facile reconciliation of the two pairs of husbands and wives. In his version the aggrieved Sympson, in spite of the rich dowry that he has received with his wife, discards her and sends her home to her relatives.<sup>4</sup> Another tale that is given a somewhat different turn is associated with Thomas Rumbold who, at the request of an innkeeper, agrees to transform his wife into a mare for a sum of fifty guineas. Unlike her prototype she is a shrew, and the landlord's object is to silence her scolding tongue. But, like his forerunner, the worthy Pietro da Tresanti, he interrupts the proceedings, and in doing so forfeits his money.<sup>5</sup> Strangely

<sup>1</sup> Dec. ii. 5 (cf. *The Decameron*, London, 1620, f. 38 verso).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. 1714, i. 134.

<sup>3</sup> There are some parallels to tales in the *Decameron* in Richard Head's *The English Rogue*, and also in *The English Gamester*, but the resemblance is too vague for one to feel confident that they are derived from Boccaccio.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 163-4.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 36-8. Cf. Dec. ix. 10.

enough, in view of the fact that he had so much to choose from, Smith reintroduced the story of Andreuccio da Perugia, this time connecting it with a female rogue, Joan Bracey.<sup>1</sup> The scene is now transferred to Bristol, and Mr. Day, her dupe, is an eminent merchant of that city. As he had previously used the tale,<sup>2</sup> Smith is obliged to hide the traces of the original more thoroughly, and so after the episode in the house of Joan Bracey he omits all other incidents and imposes a rapid conclusion. Day, finding himself stripped naked, decides to feign madness,

and passing through the Streets, he did sing a Thousand Songs and Catches. Men, Women and Children in Amazement began to flock in great Crouds about him, hollowing and whooping after him till he arrived at a Friend's House, where being put to Bed, the Mob began to disperse; and afterwards sending for Cloaths, he went home in the Evening with a great deal of Ridicule and Shame.<sup>3</sup>

This humiliation of a respectable citizen for his deviation from the path of moral rectitude again betrays a temper quite foreign to that of Boccaccio.

In 1734 Smith's collection inspired Charles Johnson to publish *A General History Of The Lives and Adventures Of the Most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers, &c.* Here, too, there is occasional moralizing, as when Johnson maintains that a young man ought to take care in choosing his associates, lest he should find himself entering on an evil life, even though he might before have had no vicious inclinations. He once more emphasizes the fatal consequences of the first wrong step in his account of Jonathan Simpson,<sup>4</sup> and the experience of Jack Withrington is made to prove that not even a genuine, idealistic love can rescue the delinquent from his evil ways, strive as he will.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the gravity of his manner, however, Johnson's pose as a reformer does not carry conviction. He had a strong picaresque vein, and some of his tales are bloody, cruel, and savage. It is significant that the title of his book refers not only to the lives but also to the adventures of his characters, and when he describes the doings of Isaac Atkinson, the pretence to veracity barely conceals their fictitious nature. The reader, he observes, may think the incident in question 'very odd, and perhaps a little improbable'.

However, [he goes on] if he considers the Characters of the Persons concern'd in the Adventure, he will find nothing related but what may be supposed to have been really acted. *Boccace, La Fontaine*, and other celebrated Writers have met with universal Applause for Histories less reconcileable to Truth than this. But, be that as it will, no reasonable Man can be angry with an Author for giving what he has received. The Writers of the Lives of Highwaymen who have gone

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*. In the fifth ed. see iii. 178-81.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth ed., i. 103-7.

<sup>4</sup> He spells the name thus.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 181.

<sup>5</sup> p. 340.

before, are a sufficient Apology for this and many other unaccountable Relations, which must of necessity be interspersed in this Work. A Reader that cannot relish these Passages, will find enough for his Diversion without them, and those who have a pretty deal of Faith may easily stretch it to our Standard. At least what will not pass for real Truth, may please by the same Rules as many of our modern Novels, which are so much admired.<sup>1</sup>

As the above passage suggests, Johnson was more sophisticated than Smith. Not only did he know Boccaccio but also the numerous *Contes* of La Fontaine that were derived from the *Decameron*.<sup>2</sup> He was likewise familiar with those *Fables* of Dryden that were taken from Boccaccio.<sup>3</sup>

And among the celebrated contemporary writers of whom he speaks Defoe can safely be reckoned as one with whose work he was acquainted. Certainly, Johnson displays an ingenuity worthy of Defoe, when he casts doubt on the reliability of Smith, even though he borrows much of his matter from his predecessor and often follows him word for word:

Captain *Smith* indeed, . . . has generally found something to relate of every one he mentions, but then most of his Stories are such barefac'd Inventions, that we are confident those who have ever seen his Books will pardon us for omitting them.<sup>4</sup>

This criticism served another purpose: it skilfully explained why Johnson had no detailed account to give of Will Bew. Perceiving that Smith had used the tale of Andreuccio da Perugia twice, he determined to suppress one of the variations on this theme. Hence, with his keener sense of technique, he omitted the adventure ascribed to Will Bew, since it too obviously resembled Boccaccio's version. He embodied in his work Smith's tales of Thomas Rumbold and Jonathan Sympton. But he modified the ending of the second, carrying a stage farther Sympton's hostility to his wife:

. . . for when she came back from the Place he had sent her to, he refused her Admittance; and the next Day sold off his Stock, shut up Shop, and went off with all the Money he could raise, resolved never more to live in *Bristol*,<sup>5</sup>

and this crisis is the beginning of Sympton's downfall. Similarly, Johnson alters somewhat the conclusion of the tale about Day and Joan Bracey.<sup>6</sup> Day is able to return home without exposure to a jeering crowd. He him-

<sup>1</sup> p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that in 1705 there had appeared a translation from La Fontaine with a title that is typical in its appeal: *Miscellaneous Poetical Novels or Tales, Relating Many pleasing and instructive Instances Of Wit and Gallantry In Both Sexes: Suited to the Belle-Humeur of the Present Age*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 340, when he quotes from Dryden's *Cymon and Iphigenia*, which was based on *Dec. v. 1*.

<sup>4</sup> p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Lives* of Edward and Joan Bracey, p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> p. 343.

self tells of his mishap to some of his friends, who, while diverting themselves with him for the rest of his life, loyally keep the secret. From this it would seem that Johnson was less concerned than Smith to point the moral, an impression which is confirmed by certain additions that he made, all of them derived from the *Decameron*. Thus he ascribes to Claude Duvall and a companion the adventure of Pinuccio and Adriano, the young gallants of Florence,<sup>1</sup> without any disapproval of their conduct.<sup>2</sup> He also relates three escapades of Phillip Stafford, the highwayman, and each time the unscrupulous ingenuity of a man who lives by his wits is allowed to pass unchallenged. The first is in all essentials the account of how Gulfardo overreached Madonna Ambruogia, who nevertheless was unable to utter any complaint.<sup>3</sup> However, the fact that whereas Guasparuolo readily lends Gulfardo the sum for which he asks, it is taken for granted that Stafford must provide security, indicates clearly enough that the Englishman belongs to a world where men habitually prey on their fellows. Another striking difference may be traced in the contrasting attitudes of Gulfardo and Stafford towards the women they have outwitted. It is true that Gulfardo rejoices in the success of his stratagem, but he does not mock Ambruogia by spreading the news of her discomfiture. Stafford, on the other hand, 'took Care to get this Adventure whispered all over the Neighbourhood'.<sup>4</sup>

The same change of tone may be detected in the second exploit attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> This occurred when he had ridden across country into Buckinghamshire after a robbery on the high road. His adventure in the house of the lady who gave him hospitality is obviously based on that of Rinaldo at Castel Guglielmo.<sup>6</sup> The song by which Stafford wins over his hostess is certainly quite in keeping with his character, as may be seen from the first stanza, which is typical of the whole:

When first Procreation began,  
Ere Forms interrupted the Bliss,  
Each Woman might love any Man;  
Each Man any Woman might kiss.

And the rest of Stafford's behaviour is no more than might be expected after his conduct in the first tale. Having carried out this design, he suddenly bound her in bed and threatened her with death, if she did not give him her keys and direct him to where the valuables of the house were kept. She began to exclaim at such ingratitude but had to submit. Stafford secured the valuables, bound the maid, lest she should give the alarm, and rode off to London. Such callous and ruffianly duplicity is, of course,

<sup>1</sup> Dec. ix. 6.

<sup>4</sup> p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 81-2.

<sup>3</sup> Dec. viii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Dec. ii. 2.

consistent with Stafford's mode of living, but it would have seemed revolting to Rinaldo and his creator Boccaccio.

Just as the Restoration mood lingers in Stafford's song, so in his third adventure we are carried back to a time when the Cavaliers were tempted to employ almost any device against the hated and despised Roundheads. The victim of Stafford's wiles on this occasion is 'An antient rich Republican, who was pretty deep in the Iniquity of the Times'. Having married the daughter of a relative, a worthy cavalier, the republican is depicted as profaning 'the sacred Ordinance of *Wedlock*, purely to keep the Substance of his deceased Kinsman to himself, and to gratify the lecherous Remains of his carnal Appetite'. Johnson's point of view is revealed by his question: 'Who could blame a Woman of Taste for being dissatisfy'd in such Circumstances?' To achieve his ends Stafford dons the garb of a Puritan and obtains a post as the lady's servant. So well does he succeed in winning his mistress's confidence that any conversation which he may have with her is interpreted as the discussion of spiritual themes for their mutual edification. The culmination is reached in the incident of the pear-tree,<sup>1</sup> which ultimately goes back to the third episode in the tale of Pirro and Lidia in the *Decameron*.<sup>2</sup> The immediate source, however, is Thomas Durfey's play, *The Royalist*,<sup>3</sup> where Camilla, the wife of Sir Oliver Oldcut, chairman to the committee of sequestrations, is secretly loyal to Sir Charles Kinglove, 'The Royalist, one of the King's Colonels at Worcester-Fight, a Lover of Monarchy and Prerogative'. The comedy used all three episodes in Boccaccio's story of Pirro and Lidia, and Johnson detached the last from Act v, sc. i, and substituted the disreputable Phillip Stafford for the dashing cavalier.

Nothing could better illustrate how well Boccaccio was acclimatized and how successfully he was adapted to an English environment. Yet in no tale was the assimilation complete. The narrative material might be skilfully adjusted to the English cities and country-side, but the mentality that shaped it was very different. The hard, cynical tone of the Restoration, echoing on into the early eighteenth century, and the didactic, edifying strain were alike incapable of blending with the worldly, yet in the main genial, temper of Boccaccio. Occasionally his figures and those of Smith and Johnson have something in common, because they are types found in every land and every age. But more often than not the scheming of keen minds which Boccaccio loves is confined to an amorous adventure, and his adepts in the art of outwitting others in this sphere are worlds apart from the rogues of the age of Defoe.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 77-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Dec.* vii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Published 1682.

<sup>4</sup> The connexion between the *Decameron* and stories of English low life is glanced at by F. W. Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery* (London, 1907), and I should like to acknowledge that my investigation of the subject was suggested by this work.



## DR. JOHNSON AND IMAGERY

By CECIL S. EMDEN

### 1. *His Appreciation of Simile*

BOSWELL was capable of penetrating insight into the contrasting features of Dr. Johnson's qualities. The most obvious instance is the way in which he portrayed his hero as both gruff and tender-hearted. A cognate, but less noticed, instance is the recognition of Dr. Johnson's rather rare combination of logical intellect and lively imagination.<sup>1</sup> The prevailing picture of him as an exponent of common sense has tended to obscure the degree in which he exercised his mind's eye. In some respects, he exercised it in the face of prevailing trends of opinion. The philosophers, for instance, had been moving in increasing opposition to figurative illustration. Hobbes was suspicious of the inclination of Fancy to endanger Judgement, though he admitted that there were occasions when 'the understanding has need to be opened by some apt similitude' [simile]. He generally managed to curb his imaginative ardour; and his style marked an early stage in the movement towards classical sedateness. Locke went farther and characterized figurative illustrations as necessarily insinuating wrong ideas, moving the passions and thereby misleading the judgement, in fact being 'perfect cheats'. Dr. Johnson's contemporary, Hume, of whom he had a low opinion, was also narrow-minded in this respect, failing utterly to comprehend the ideal partnership of reason and imagination. 'Nothing', he said, 'is more dangerous to reason than the flights of the imagination, and nothing has been the occasion of more mistakes among the philosophers.' Addison's pleasure in the 'nicety and correctness' of literary composition and his implied advocacy of artistic restraint still had their influence in Dr. Johnson's time, when so-called imaginative prose-writers often confined their shy flutters of the imagination to the use of such awkward means of expression as personification.

This unsympathetic atmosphere did not deter Dr. Johnson from free use of imagery, especially in his prose writings, or from firm belief in its value and significance. He was not prepared to accept a régime of classic propriety and frigid analysis which would prevent his elucidating or intensifying his meaning by bold imaginative comparisons. He drew attention to the two main functions of a simile when he explained that, to be perfect, it 'must both illustrate and ennoble the subject; must shew it to the understanding in a clearer view, and display it to the fancy with

<sup>1</sup> Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, revised L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), iv. 116, 428; v. 17 (hereinafter cited as *Life*).

greater dignity'.<sup>1</sup> Several writers had said much the same from Greek and Roman times downwards. An Elizabethan<sup>2</sup> defined the double purpose of simile as 'amplifying' the matter, that is to say, adding depth of meaning, and arousing the emotions by beautifying the subject. When used for pure elucidation, as Dr. Johnson sometimes used it, in writing on questions of morals, the feelings of the reader are not involved, merely his comprehension. But more often in his essays he used it persuasively, so as to engage both the intellect and the emotions. It has been truly remarked that in many subjects men understand by their emotions as much as by their intellects, a fact that philosophers like Locke and Hume were constitutionally incapable of recognizing. They would hardly have understood if they had been told that reason is like a spark kindled by the beating of our hearts. Dr. Johnson's wide acquaintance and understanding of literature qualified him to appreciate the universality of metaphoric thought. The use of simile from early classical and oriental times for intellectual enlightenment, for intensifying meaning, and for oratorical persuasion, must have convinced him that it was a paramount factor in literary expression.

Treasuring 'images', as he called them, to be used in the practice of imagery, was evidently a feature in his craftsmanship. He must have started to make a mental store fairly early, for one or two of the similes in his 'reports' of Parliamentary Debates are re-used in his moral essays. In one of his Eastern stories in essay form the speaker is made to plan the expenditure of his time in stocking his mind with images and thereafter in 'combining and comparing' them;<sup>3</sup> and Imlac in *Rasselas* (ch. 12) has a mind replete with images which he can 'vary and combine at pleasure'. The way in which many of Dr. Johnson's similes are phrased and introduced easily convinces the reader of the enjoyment and interest that they afforded him. This must have been even more obvious to his listeners, because it is in his talk that they reach their highest quality of vividness. Once, when he helped Boswell to enter up his journal, he expressed his delight that, on a review, he found that his conversation 'teemed with point and imagery'.<sup>4</sup>

As a literary critic, his concern with the abilities of authors to utilize simile is frequent; and his approbation of their talent depends largely on success in this province. His comments on Shakespeare's plays include several remarks of appreciation of particular similes. It is the same with Milton's work, and that of others too. Dryden's genius is commended because it sparkles with illustrations, prose as well as poetry; because there is 'scarcely any science or faculty that does not supply him with occasional images and lucky similitudes'. He approves Dryden's *Dialogue on the*

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1905), iii. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*.

<sup>3</sup> *Idler*, no. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, iii. 260.



*Drama* because it is 'so artfully variegated with successive representations of opposite probabilities, so enlivened with imagery, so brightened with illustrations'. Pope's imagery is similarly commended. Even a quite second-rate poet whom he really despised, namely, Akenside, has a good word from him, because, using his favourite phrase, he had a 'mind stored with images', and was 'much exercised in combining and comparing them'.

His friends, too, could gain his approval if they had wit, in the sense of using simile effectively. He defines wit as 'the unexpected copulation of ideas, the discovery of some occult relation between images in appearance remote from each other',<sup>1</sup> a definition which is comparable with a modern one in which wit is said to imply swift perception of the incongruous, depending on ingenuity or surprise. In the same passage in the *Rambler*, he proceeds to use a simile himself so as to illustrate the point that the imagination cannot deal in similes without a store of suitable notions, in the same way that bell-ringers find that many changes cannot be rung upon a few bells. Foote, the actor, sometimes came under his lash, but he is admitted to have wit, and thus to be not deficient in fertility and variety of imagery.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Johnson's intentness on the value of simile is reflected in Boswell's practice. The latter emulated him. He paid him the compliment of borrowing some of his images, and certainly expended much attention to the subject. He congratulated himself on drawing out the Doctor in conversation and likened him to a great mill into which a subject is thrown to be ground; and, after recollecting that Pope had used something of the same kind, wondered whether he had produced 'a good figure'.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion, after he had been severely mauled by Dr. Johnson in conversation, the following remarks passed between them. Boswell: 'I said today to Sir Joshua, when he observed that you *tossed* me sometimes—I don't care how often, or how high he tosses me, when only friends are present, for then I fall upon soft ground: but I do not like falling on stones, which is the case when enemies are present.—I think this is a pretty good image, Sir.' Johnson [who could be tactful and conciliatory after his conversational victory had been well won]: 'Sir, it is one of the happiest I have ever heard.'<sup>4</sup> He encouraged Boswell to practise imagery; and Boswell proved an apt pupil. Close acquaintance with him all day and every day during the tour to the Hebrides enabled Dr. Johnson to write to Mrs. Thrale: 'He [Boswell] has better faculties than I had imagined; more justness of discernment; and more fecundity of images.'<sup>5</sup>

The apparent remoteness of relation between the proposition and the

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, no. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 264-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1892), i. 291.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, iii. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 338.

illustration in a simile has been widely regarded as a valuable element. Comparison is thought to be more surprising, and therefore more striking and effective, if the proposition and the illustration come from incongruous spheres and yet are shown to be significantly alike. But there are others who have considered that the two parts are best concerned with closely related matter, thus involving a more natural and easy comparison. In general, Dr. Johnson strongly favoured the remoteness of relation. Indeed, he described a simile of Pope's 'in which the most exact resemblance is traced between things in appearance utterly unrelated to each other' as 'perhaps the best simile in our language'.<sup>1</sup> This was the simile in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, in which a too optimistic student, after making some progress in science and being unaware of the extent of his difficulties, is compared with a traveller passing the Alps and finding range after range confronting him. Many of Dr. Johnson's best similes have this quality of incongruity. One of them may be chosen which also illustrates his preference for elucidating abstract notions by means of objective pictures. In a moral essay, he wanted to describe, rather drily, the kind of influence exerted by an eminent personage, an influence wide in extent, but not having any intimate effect on individuals. He likened it to 'one of the remote stars, of which the light reaches us, but not the heat'.<sup>2</sup> Several other examples of this class will be found later in this article.

The contrary view in regard to the merits of simile, to the effect that the proposition and the illustration should come from related spheres, was not held by Dr. Johnson. However, so distinguished a writer as W. P. Ker remarked: 'No similes are more impressive than those of Dante where he does not change the ground, where he takes his similes from kindred matter, not going over into another species.'<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly some of the most beautiful similes in literature from Homer downwards are like these, while others of the kind may be justly indicted of undue closeness. Dr. Johnson seized on some questionable instances and castigated them with characteristic vigour. 'In their similes the greatest writers have sometimes failed; the ship-race, compared with the chariot-race, is neither illustrated nor aggrandised; land and water make all the difference. . .'.<sup>4</sup> Even Dryden was found to lapse. One of his similes is thus disparaged by the Doctor: 'This is little better than to say in praise of a shrub, that it is as green as a tree; or of a brook, that it waters a garden, as a river waters a country.'<sup>5</sup> The fact is that both the remote and the kindred kinds of comparison have their particular merits and their appropriate employments.

Dr. Johnson's use of simile, being chiefly for the purpose of elucidating

<sup>1</sup> *Review of an Essay on the Writings of Pope.*

<sup>2</sup> *Form and Style in Poetry* (London, 1928), 252.

<sup>4</sup> *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill, iii. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Rambler*, no. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. 441.

or intensifying the meaning of abstract points, was either by means of objectification (to use an uncouth but compact expression) or, rather rarely, by comparing one subjective idea with another. He was not primarily an imaginative writer engaged in the description of society and its background. Consequently it is only now and then that he tries to intensify an objective picture by comparing it with another. As might be expected, this occasional use is chiefly to be found in those of his essays which are in the form of stories. A neat example is that of a character who, having decked himself out in expensive and fashionable clothes so as to make a show as a fine gentleman, comes to suspect that 'a shining dress, like a weighty weapon, has no force in itself, but owes all its efficacy to him that wears it'.<sup>1</sup> Again, some aimless, vacuous women, in *Rasselas* (ch. 39), are happily described as spending their time running from room to room, as a bird hops from wire to wire in his cage.

It is natural that Dr. Johnson, with his strong views about the effectiveness of apparent incongruity in simile, should use that figure of speech chiefly so as to clarify or to enforce a subjective concept by means of an objective picture set in comparison with it. The character, both of his essays and his talk, demanded that kind of treatment. His frequent abstract propositions in his moral essays especially needed elucidation by concrete illustrations. It is only occasionally, then, that his similes are subjective, and thus do not conjure up pictures. These are not among his most effective ones, as will be suggested later. He is not very successful in an attempt to enlarge on the point, that a dictionary is not a good one if it is merely admired by the learned critics and is not useful to the learner. For this purpose he compared the dictionary to an engine which amuses the scientist by reason of the subtlety of its mechanism, but is so complicated as to be of little practical use.<sup>2</sup> Again, he may be thought to have failed in his effort to enforce his views regarding a writer alleged to be prejudiced and careless in checking his facts by comparing him with a man who resolves to regulate his time by a certain watch, but will not inquire whether the watch is right or not.<sup>3</sup> A better use of the subjective simile is his adverse reflection on a member of Parliament who was a famous wit, but who never spoke in the House. 'For my own part, I think it is more disgraceful never to try to speak, than to try it and fail; as it is more disgraceful not to fight, than to fight and be beaten.'<sup>4</sup> This may be sophistry, but it is much more lively than the preceding examples.

## 2. His Discrimination

It was partly conscientious scruple that ensured that Dr. Johnson used

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, no. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Plan of the Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, ii. 213.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 339.

simile as appropriately as he did in his prose writings.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely ever, in the hundreds of similes in the *Rambler* and other moral essays, did he enforce points of principle by descending to the tricks of the orator. He regarded specious rhetoric as a legitimate instrument in controversy, but it would have been against his moral tenets to mislead his readers. As Boswell observed: 'He could, when he chose it, be the greatest sophist that ever wielded a weapon in the schools of declamation; but he indulged this only in conversation; for he owned he sometimes talked for victory; he was too conscientious to make error permanent and pernicious, by deliberately writing it.'<sup>2</sup> As a preceptor, and even as an expositor, he was uniformly sincere in everything he wrote.

In the moral essays, simile is, as already remarked, frequently used for elucidation, though a measure of persuasion is generally present. In the critical essays, there is naturally a high proportion of persuasive exposition. Dr. Johnson's critical opinions, like anyone else's, are supported by comparisons likely to add conviction; and it is but rarely that a modicum of guile may be detected in the way the illustrative matter is introduced. When, however, he used simile in hand-to-hand encounter, he felt himself free to outwit his opponents by any available means. Indeed, among the large number of similes in the records of his disputations, there is hardly an instance of unqualified elucidation. Many of them are highly specious.

Nevertheless, there is some risk that we may view his practice of simile in wrong proportion. Boswell and others have recorded so many of his rhetorical similes that we may gain an impression that he invariably used them in a disingenuous way. It must be remembered that it was just the simile that was dramatically victorious that stuck in the memory.

An admirable example of a simile in a moral essay whose sole intention is elucidation is the description of a husband and wife who had precisely the right degree of intellectual variance to ensure perfect harmony. 'Our reasonings, though often formed upon different views, terminate generally in the same conclusion. Our thoughts, like rivulets issuing from distant springs, are each impregnated in its course with various mixtures, and tinged by infusions unknown to the other, yet at last easily unite into one stream, and purify themselves by the gentle effervescence of contrary qualities.'<sup>3</sup> The state of *concordia discors* is a somewhat complex one, and well suited to illustration by objective comparison.

When, however, a moral principle is being asserted, it naturally and

<sup>1</sup> His poetry is not discussed in this article.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, v. 17. Cf. *ibid.* iv. 111, where Boswell remarked: 'Care, however, must be taken to distinguish between Johnson when he "talked for victory", and Johnson when he had no desire but to inform and illustrate.'

<sup>3</sup> *Rambler*, no. 167.

frequently happens that simile is found valuable for the combined purposes of elucidation and conviction. Dr. Johnson adds persuasiveness to his denunciation of the irresolute type of character by comparing it to a man who instead of pursuing a strenuous, upward path, keeps wasting time and energy in looking for short cuts.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, even in the moral essays, the persuasive element in the simile is so strong that it comes within the borders of rhetoric. The oratorical means of carrying conviction by means of a simile based on exaggeration is, perhaps, confined to instances where his feelings on a subject are particularly strong. 'Wealth', he asserts, 'cannot confer greatness, for nothing can make that great which the degree of nature has ordained to be little. The bramble may be placed in a hot-bed, but can never become an oak.'<sup>2</sup>

In personal controversy, the battle of wits, he must as a rule have been well aware that he was playing rhetorical tricks by means of his delusive similes. Sometimes his opponent must have realized that he was being tricked, and recognized the method; but the Doctor's combination of swift riposte and overbearing manner probably disabled him from continuing the contest. Many of these crafty and insidious similes almost deserved to gain the applause of the company, because their fantastic exaggeration so effectively reduced the argument of the opponent to absurdity. The element of fantasy noticeable in such similes was a valuable auxiliary in the process of rendering the opponent or his argument so laughable as to be out of court. Hume, one of his aversions, should not, he suggested, object to being laughed at. 'If he is the great man he thinks himself, all this cannot hurt him: it is like throwing peas against a rock.'<sup>3</sup> Fantasy was particularly appropriate in his not infrequent employment of simile in conversation for the purpose of invective. Boswell accused him of having made a lady ridiculous. He replied: 'That was already done, Sir. To endeavour to make *her* ridiculous, is like blacking the chimney.'<sup>4</sup>

Occasionally Dr. Johnson's prejudice and violence of manner tended to diminish his artifice. His weapon became clumsy, having more weight than point or sharpness. Boswell depicts himself as being a frequent sufferer. When told by Dr. Johnson not to be hypocritical in defence of the intellectual acquirements of savages, he argued that they had the art of navigation. Johnson: 'A dog or a cat can swim.' Boswell: 'They carve very ingeniously.' Johnson: 'A cat can scratch, and a child with a nail can scratch.'<sup>5</sup> No one could stand up against this battery of prejudiced irrelevance.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., no. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., no. 58.

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, v. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ii. 336. His fantasy in simile may well owe something to Thomas Fuller.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. iv. 308-9.

### 3. *His Materials*

Most of Dr. Johnson's similes are, it seems, based on his own cogitation; and it is not possible to trace many specific influences affecting them. But a slight amount of attention paid to his metaphors brings to notice a relish for oriental modes of objectification, and an oriental (or is it partly Elizabethan?) pleasure in such expressions as 'sparkle', 'dazzle', 'glare', and 'glitter'; all of which are frequently found in the essays. The oriental turn of phrase is particularly noticeable. There are some objectifications which must surely be attributable to his study of the increasing number of translations or imitations from the Persian and Arabic that were becoming current in his lifetime. Particularly outstanding are such expressions as: 'the bowl of pleasure',<sup>1</sup> 'the draught of life',<sup>2</sup> 'the cup of life',<sup>3</sup> 'the cup of sorrow',<sup>4</sup> 'the frown of power',<sup>5</sup> and 'the frown of prohibition'.<sup>6</sup> But this vein is much less noticeable in his similes.

The choice of the material for Dr. Johnson's similes is in some respects distinctive. Nature and natural scenery have been proved over long ages of literature to be the most popular and also the most effective material for imagery. But, with him, it tends to be used only in certain limited and stereotyped ways. His scientific similes, largely based on chemistry and optics, may be thought to be disproportionately large in number. They certainly reflect an exceptionally keen interest in these subjects for a non-scientific author. His similes include references to such apparatus as we may guess he had in his own amateurish laboratory, crucibles, scales, microscopes, magnets, and prisms. He was, however, like many authors in finding animal life particularly useful in similes intended to support controversial arguments. It is worth while paying attention to the variations of his practice and some of the apparent reasons for them.

His similes based on the country-side are quite general, and when some sympathetic interest is discernible it is only in respect of objects close at hand. This may be due to defective eyesight. In Scotland, he thought he saw a white rock on a mountain, but the guides told him that it was snow.<sup>7</sup> Boswell asserted that Dr. Johnson could see the scenery satisfactorily;<sup>8</sup> but he also recorded a remark by him to the effect that he could not watch birds, because he only saw a small distance.<sup>9</sup> He affected, doubtless with good reason, to disregard the beauty of mountains, of water in the landscape, and of the wider aspects of rurality. He is recorded as having remarked that 'the sea is the same everywhere', and that 'a blade of grass

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, nos. 53, 167.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 203.

<sup>7</sup> *A Journey to the Western Islands.*

<sup>8</sup> *Life*, v. 140-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 83.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 133.



is always a blade of grass'.<sup>1</sup> We are told, too, that he hated hearing about prospects and views,<sup>2</sup> and that he annoyed Thrale on the tour in Wales by preferring to read a book than admire a 'breath-taking panorama'.<sup>3</sup> Some of his descriptions of the country in his essays are adorned with expressions about valleys enamelled with flowers, the paint of the meadows, and the grandeur of lofty groves which sound suspiciously unrealistic. Boswell remarked slyly: 'I have a notion that he at no time has had much taste for rural beauties.'<sup>4</sup> There is little in his poetry to suggest an intimate feeling for the beauties of the country-side. On the other hand, he seems to have had a genuine love for his tiny garden at Bolt Court;<sup>5</sup> and there is a susceptibility to be implied from his remark in a letter, regretting that a visit to the country would be so late in the year that 'I shall hardly smell hay, or suck clover flowers'.<sup>6</sup>

There are four well-marked classes into which some dozens of his similes based on nature fall. They may all four be described as standard pictures of life, used as backgrounds for the illustration and enforcement of moral principles. First, there is the stream of life. This picture is generally intended to illustrate the dangers of supineness. 'He that floats lazily down the stream, in pursuit of something borne along by the same current, will find himself indeed move forward; but unless he lays his hand to the oar, and increases his speed by his own labour, must be always at the same distance from that which he is following.'<sup>7</sup> We learn too that 'the stream of life, if it is not ruffled by obstructions, will grow putrid by stagnation'.<sup>8</sup> This standard picture has some other applications. 'Distance', said Imlac in *Rasselas*, 'has the same effect on the mind as on the eye, and while we glide along the stream of time, whatever we leave behind is always lessening, and that which we approach increasing in magnitude.'<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, there is the picture of the voyage of life. The main intention here is to enforce the risks of life being shipwrecked through such moral failings as over-optimism, pride, treachery, or lack of resolution. The very uncertainty of life irrespective of defects of character is also thus illustrated. 'We set out on a tempestuous sea in quest of some port, where we expect to find rest, but where we are not sure of admission; we are not only in danger of sinking in the way, but of being misled by meteors

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. v. 54; *Dr. Campbell's Diary*, ed. J. L. Clifford (Cambridge, 1947), p. 69; *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1897), i. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 322-3.

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi* (Oxford, 1941), p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, v. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. ii. 427 (note); iii. 398; *Letters*, ii. 193, 307.

<sup>7</sup> *Adventurer*, no. 69.

<sup>8</sup> *Rambler*, no. 165.

<sup>9</sup> Ch. 35. Other examples in *Rambler*, nos. 29, 124, 127; *Idler*, nos. 27, 89; *Rasselas*, ch. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 163.

mistaken for stars, of being driven from our course by the changes of the wind, and of losing it by unskilful steerage. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, there is the upward path of life. There are those who cannot face the ascents of honour and choose some easier slope;<sup>2</sup> others are applauded for climbing the road of life circumspectly;<sup>3</sup> others again miss the way or deviate from it to pluck a flower or to find repose.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, life is regarded as something to be cultivated. It must not be suffered 'to lie waste by negligence, to be over-run with noxious plants, or laid out for show rather than for use'.<sup>5</sup> The unduly eager cultivator may prove too impatient to gather the fruit from the tree.<sup>6</sup> But, in spite of uncertainties, man normally labours for reward with hope predominant, for 'no man turns up the ground but because he thinks of the harvest, that harvest which blights may intercept, which inundations may sweep away, or which death or calamity may hinder him from reaping'.<sup>7</sup>

It is true that Dr. Johnson seldom uses the same standard picture of life to illustrate the same moral problem. But the frequent repetition of these four backgrounds tends a little to monotony. In fact, these limited outlines may be taken to indicate some restriction in the fertility of Dr. Johnson's imagination, in so far as his moral essays are concerned.

There are other set frameworks for simile in his essays which confirm such a conclusion. In particular, moral and intellectual qualities are frequently compared with treasures of gold and jewels.

Similes based on warlike operations are natural and suitable for illustrating the principles of disputation. As this is a subject on which Dr. Johnson's mind must have been constantly turning, it is not surprising to find him often using such similes. He illustrates the risks run by a disputant claiming too much in argument by comparing his situation to that of a prince who loses not only his conquests but his reputation by adding one captured fortress to another regardless of the security of his base.<sup>8</sup> The risk that arguments may be retorted on the arguer is also illustrated by a warlike simile. There has been found to be, he remarks, a danger in using elephants in war very nearly equivalent to the advantage, 'for if their first charge could be supported [i.e. resisted], they were easily driven back upon their confederates. . . .'<sup>9</sup> Equally apt, and more vivid, is the way he uses pictures of personal combat. The fact is that he thought of disputation in terms of fighting. 'Sir,' he remarked to Boswell, 'treating your

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, no. 184. Other examples in *Rambler*, nos. 20, 95, 102, 112, 174, 175, 207; *Idler*, no. 2; *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill, ii. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Rambler*, no. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 89. Other examples in nos. 14, 63, 70, 169.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2. Other examples in nos. 69, 70, 95, 111, 183, 184.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 66.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 184.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 207.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 21.



adversary with respect is striking soft in a battle.<sup>1</sup> And, when asked by Boswell why he himself did not turn on an opponent in argument who had been rude to him, he replied: 'Because, Sir, I had nothing ready. A man cannot strike till he has his weapons.'<sup>2</sup>

His vivid and effective similes based on animal life are mostly found in his conversation. Sometimes, like his warlike similes, they aimed at illustrating the principles of argument. 'I hate a fellow whom pride, or cowardice, or laziness drives into a corner, and [who] does nothing when he is there but sit and *growl*; let him come out as I do and *bark*.'<sup>3</sup> He expressly demonstrated a fallacious notion when he described the project of curing a timid boy of his timidity by sending him to a public school as preposterous, since it would be like 'forcing an owl upon day'.<sup>4</sup>

Authors with a deep and intimate appreciation of the craft of the artist, like Dryden and Hazlitt, have used painting as highly effective material for simile. Its suitability seems due to its being sufficiently, but not too closely, related to reality. On his own admission, Dr. Johnson had limited views on the potentialities of portraiture.<sup>5</sup> We are therefore prepared for the discovery that his similes based on painting are dull and below his better quality. The reader is not likely to be impressed by his defence of Shakespeare's anachronisms by comparing him with a portrait-painter who is satisfied with the figure but neglects the drapery.<sup>6</sup> The failure of Foote, the actor, to take off the peculiarities of someone of whom he wished to make fun is rather absurdly compared with a painter who can only draw a recognizable portrait of a man if marked by a wen on his face.<sup>7</sup> Of better quality is the criticism of Robertson's *History* as being too imaginative. 'Robertson paints minds as Sir Joshua [Reynolds] paints faces in a history-piece: he imagines a heroick countenance.'<sup>8</sup>

From the earliest stages in the history of simile, abstruse and unfamiliar material has been disparaged as obscuring rather than illuminating the subject, and as chilling rather than stimulating the reader. For many illustrative purposes the intimate material of everyday domestic life, familiar to every kind of reader, has proved to be the best. Dr. Johnson's use of homely pictures is largely for invective in his conversation. He may have thought them insufficiently dignified for moral essays or literary criticism. He talked scornfully of a man with 'a mind as narrow as the neck of a vinegar cruet';<sup>9</sup> and he remarked laughingly of a lady that 'she has some softness indeed, but so has a pillow'.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, v. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Johnsonian Misc.* i. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 312.

<sup>5</sup> *Life*, iii. 163 (note); iv. 320-1; see also *Johnsonian Misc.* i. 214. His own views on the subject are given in *Idler*, no. 45.

<sup>6</sup> *Preface to Shakespeare*.

<sup>7</sup> *Life*, ii. 154.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 237.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* v. 269.

<sup>10</sup> *Johnsonian Misc.* i. 264. See also 294; ii. 397, 414.

It is interesting to notice that, in his 'reports' of Parliamentary Debates, where the similes are plainly his own rather than those of the speakers, his most frequent material, namely, medicine and surgery, is particularly suitable to the subject-matter. He, like the elder Pitt, Burke, and others, found that the diseases of government and of the Constitution, and the surgical remedies to be applied to them, were useful images with which to enforce arguments. In view of Dr. Johnson's keen interest in medical matters,<sup>1</sup> he might well have continued to use this kind of illustration. But he rarely did.

#### 4. *His Proficiency*

In considering the variety of material found in Dr. Johnson's similes it has been noticeable that there is not only more vividness of imagination in his conversation than in his writing, but also more fertility. It is, however, fair to remark that the opportunities for vividness and variety were greater in his talk.

His writing fell into categories in which certain kinds of material were suitable. In the moral essays it was not very easy for him to maintain variety; and it is a matter of general experience that simile for elucidation cannot be as lively as rhetorical simile. It is not to be inferred that he did not find opportunities for vivid imagery in his essays. Several examples of this quality have already been quoted. But his best opportunity was in those essays which took the form of stories and which described the doings of characters and social vagaries in general. A character who was perplexed by a 'perpetual deception' in his attempts at prognosticating the course of public events is compared with a man pointing his telescope at an evasive star, constantly failing to locate it.<sup>2</sup> This is the kind of simile that conjures up a picture easily and pleasurably. So, too, with a gentleman-retainer who was often called upon to entertain his patron's friends, 'as a sportsman delights the squires of his neighbourhood with the curvets of his horse or the obedience of his spaniels'.<sup>3</sup> There are several like this in the *Idler*, which deals more largely than the *Rambler* in the lighter side of social life.

Many of the moral essays were written against time; and it is said that occasionally the printer's messenger was waiting at the door. The defective quality of some of the similes in the *Rambler*, *Idler*, and *Adventurer* may, then, be ascribed to the carelessness of undue haste. There is sometimes an inaptness due to the comparisons being strained. This is the impression left on the reader when told that, in spite of the fact that political opponents occasionally remain real friends, 'it is no more proper to regulate our conduct by such instances, than to leap a precipice, because some have fallen

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, i. 159; iii. 22, 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Rambler*, no. 61.

from it and escaped with life'.<sup>1</sup> This kind of simile neither embellishes, clarifies, nor enforces the meaning.

Dr. Johnson seems to have acquired the habit of introducing similes at frequent intervals, either because he considered that they were convenient means of enlivening abstract propositions, or because his store of similes kept effervescing uncontrollably in his mind. His delight in experimental science and especially in chemistry ('enchanting as it is', he remarked) was a danger to him in this respect. It led him to try to use simile to elucidate statements which required no elucidation, to emulate, in his own words again, 'the liberal illustrator, who shews by examples and comparisons what was clearly seen when it was first proposed'.<sup>2</sup> Once or twice, indeed, the original remark is even rather obscured. In his *Preface to Shakespeare* he observes that 'his characters are praised as natural, though their sentiments are sometimes forced, and their actions improbable; as the earth upon the whole is spherical, though its surface is varied with protuberances and cavities'. This simile confuses the statement rather than clarifies it.

After he had made quite a clear statement to the effect that wit can only be successful in a sympathetic audience, he proceeded to try to enforce it by instancing bodies which, being indissoluble by heat, can set the furnace and crucible at defiance.<sup>3</sup> He was frequently misled by the temptation to illustrate the art of living by the facts of science. These similes mostly fail to generate that warmth of feeling which enables imagery to act as a solvent. On the contrary, they are apt to be dull and cold, rather like the scientific similes of his butt, Hume.

In general, his efforts to illustrate a subjective point by a subjective illustration are only partially successful. Occasionally this kind of scientific simile is admirably effective, especially one or two based on optics. For instance: 'He that is happy . . . desires nothing but the continuance of happiness, and is no more solicitous to distribute his sensations into their proper species, than the common gazer on the beauties of the spring to separate light into its original rays.'<sup>4</sup>

Neither the moral nor the critical essays are the kind of literature in which simile can be expected to include the spontaneous glow of poetical feeling, though there are flashes now and then, as when we read of 'the man of exuberance and copiousness, who diffuses every thought through so many diversities of expression, that it is lost like water in a mist'.<sup>5</sup> Or, better still, we are told in the *Preface to the Dictionary* that 'words are hourly shifting their relations, and can no more be ascertained in a

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, no. 64. Exactly the same simile is used in *Adventurer*, no. 69, with equal inaptness.

<sup>2</sup> *Idler*, no. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Idler*, no. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Rambler*, no. 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 36.

dictionary, than a grove, in the agitation of a storm, can be accurately delineated from its picture in the water'. This seemingly original conception, which brings a vivid picture to the mind, stands almost alone for high poetical quality. It might also be quoted in support of Dr. Johnson's feeling for natural scenery.

The essays in literary criticism seem to evoke his metaphoric ability more successfully than the moral essays. There are many memorable metaphors illustrating features of literary style, like the remark about Prior: 'His verses always roll, but they seldom flow', or the differentiation between Dryden's horses galloping or stumbling and Pope's going at a steady even trot. In the moral essays, carelessness and a puzzling propensity for highly coloured and even bombastic phraseology, when carried away by exaltation of sentiment, produces some examples of the kind of metaphor that has no right to be found in prose writing, or perhaps to be found at all. It is altogether too fulsome and trite to be so far affected by the spirit of spring as to say that, at that period, 'the heart of tranquillity dances to the melody of the groves, and the eye of benevolence sparkles at the sight of happiness and plenty'.<sup>1</sup> Unbecoming enthusiasm also led him to observe that the powers of the mind, when they are 'expanded by the sunshine of felicity, more frequently luxuriate into follies than blossom into goodness';<sup>2</sup> and, while making optimistic plans, 'day glides after day through elysian prospects, and the heart dances to the song of hope'.<sup>3</sup> How is it possible that the hard-headed common sense of Dr. Johnson could have descended to the fustian of these misplaced expressions? He recorded his disapproval of the use of such stale metaphors as 'white-robed innocence' and 'flower-bespangled meads'.<sup>4</sup> It was not, then, an insensibility due to obtuseness. Perhaps he would not have been resentful if told that he sometimes allowed his own flowers of rhetoric to be gaudy and run rampant.

It may be by natural accident that it is only his choicest use of metaphor in conversation that has been remembered. However this may be, it seems easier to find superlatively good examples of metaphor in his talk than in his writings. There is no doubt about his instinctive ability for original imagery. But it is puzzling to know why a man with so lively an imagination could sometimes, in his writings, let his quality fall so far below his best standard. Can it be that he was writing down to the supposed level of his readers?

### 5. *His Self-disclosure*

Like many of our great national authors, Dr. Johnson helped to disclose his character and his habits of mind by means of his similes and metaphors.

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, no. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 207.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, i. 421.

This kind of disclosure is largely unconscious, and, for that reason, of special value in enabling the reader to become more closely acquainted with the author as a man. In order to be significant in this respect it is necessary for an author's imagery to be the outcome of his own imagination and not to be borrowed. When this is so, it is often possible to supplement or at least intensify the impression we have had of his qualities and experiences.

Samuel Butler (of *Hudibras*), who is lavish in original similes, especially in his *Characters*, has a number based on law and on the country-side. Many people know that he spent some years as a lawyer's clerk; and much of his earlier life was in country houses. But his 'figures' enable us to visualize his environments. Simile, then, can add realism to known facts about an author's experiences. It can also reflect the working of his mind.

Perhaps there is as much known about Dr. Johnson's attitude towards life and living as that of any famous author. But even this full portrait can be improved a little by study of his use of imagery. His standard pictures of life, noticed earlier in this article, are revealing of his mind and its way of confronting questions of morality and conscience. He must constantly have been considering his own problems in relation to the picture of life as a voyage with its risks and rigours; in relation to the picture of the upward path with its struggles and opportunities for display of doggedness and resolution; and in relation to the stream of life along which he, with his tendency to sloth, must have found it perilously easy to glide, heedless and inactive. His frequent use of warlike similes in discussing principles of controversy intensifies our view of him as constitutionally a talker for victory.

His temperament, like other of his contrasting qualities, included a mixture of extreme vigour and moods of idleness and depression. Boswell remarked that 'everything about his character and manners was forcible and violent'.<sup>1</sup> This feature is reflected in the language of his similes and, especially, of his metaphors. Strong, vehement words are frequently found there. He relished such expressions as flashes of insolence, frothing with declamation, rages of disappointment, raging with envy, precipices of horror, precipice of destruction, throbbings of anguish, anguish of impatience. Bereaved persons are two or three times described as being lacerated with sorrow. Others are lacerated with envy.

The tendency to dejection is well reflected in the use of the word 'cloud'. The mind is clouded with anxiety, misfortune, or envy. Reason, judgement, wit, and discernment are all clouded in turn. There are also clouds of terror, of sorrow, and of adversity.

In many respects his imagination must have been painfully active. In other respects pleasurably so. His keen sense of fantasy must have been a

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. iv. 72.

matter of delight for himself and his friends; and this notable feature can help us to picture him in those exuberant moods that Fanny Burney tells us about.

In all the efforts to illuminate Dr. Johnson as a man much the largest activity has been concentrated on what his contemporaries recorded about him, and comparatively little on what he unconsciously disclosed about himself. Some students of his prose style may consider that his imagery, though often worthy of his great talents, was used to excess and was sometimes ill judged; but, as means for learning a little more about his mind and habits, all of it is well worth scrutiny.

## JANE AUSTEN AND HER EARLY PUBLIC

By CHARLES BEECHER HOGAN

### I

**D**URING her lifetime Jane Austen was scarcely known; her six novels crept forth unnoticed; interest in her work came very slowly....

So, at least, we have been told.

Jane Austen died in 1817, and her novels had begun to 'creep forth' only six years earlier. Between 1811 and 1816 she published four books; two were published posthumously.

To say that these books received the instantaneous welcome accorded to *Waverley* or to *Childe Harold* would be preposterous, but to accept as definitive any notion that Jane Austen's novels were obliged to creep forth, or were scarcely known, would be not only equally preposterous but in every way misleading.

Jane Austen was a modest woman; she was more interested in writing a good book than in enjoying good publicity. Her novels were very dear to her: she wanted them to succeed, and they did succeed. Before she died two of them had gone into second editions, and one into a third. Her total profits were approximately £700. By the standards of to-day, and perhaps by those of 1817 as well, this sum may appear to be extremely small. But because Jane Austen herself made no effort to capitalize on this unostentatious success, and because her books were unostentatious in and of themselves, it by no means follows that a generation had to pass before anybody knew anything at all about her or cared to buy what she had to offer. Indeed, as Mr. Chapman points out, her fame 'must have been in a way to dwindle from malnutrition, when in 1832 Bentley decided to restore it by including her works in his series of *Standard Novels*'.<sup>1</sup> Malnutrition implies a wish to be fed. From 1811 to the late 1830's how urgent, then, was this wish?

### II

To the best of my knowledge Jane Austen's name—at least as that of a novelist—never appeared in print while she was alive. To her readers she was merely 'The Author of "Sense and Sensibility", etc.' On the title-page of the novel that inaugurated her career she asked her publisher to say only that it was 'By a Lady'.

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Chapman, 'Jane Austen and Her Publishers', *The London Mercury*, xxii (Aug. 1930), 342.



This career began, as far as the public was concerned, on 30 October 1811, when the *Star* announced the publication of *Sense and Sensibility*. By 7 November the publisher, Thomas Egerton, had decided to resort to a familiar stratagem: *Sense and Sensibility* was no longer the production of 'a Lady', but of 'Lady —'; by 27 November the writer had become 'Lady A—', and the book itself an 'INTERESTING NOVEL'

The two reviews that I have been able to trace appeared to find it so. The following February the *Critical Review* introduced a minute exposition of the plot by saying that

*Sense and Sensibility* is . . . well written; the characters are . . . naturally drawn, and judiciously supported. The incidents are probable, and highly pleasing. . . . It reflects honour on the writer, who displays much knowledge of character, and very happily blends a great deal of good sense with the lighter matter of the piece.<sup>1</sup>

In May of the same year the *British Critic* was equally laudatory.

The characters are happily delineated and admirably sustained. . . . An intimate knowledge of life and of the female character is exemplified in the various personages and incidents which are introduced, and nothing can be more happily portrayed than the picture of the elder brother. . . . Not less excellent is the picture of the young lady of over exquisite sensibility, who falls immediately and violently in love . . . , without listening to the judicious expostulations of her sensible sister.<sup>2</sup>

But the book was well able to stand on its own feet. The record has been preserved of its reception, three weeks after publication, by a not indiscriminating circle of readers. On 25 November 1811, the Countess of Bessborough wrote as follows to Lord Granville Gower: 'Have you read "*Sense and Sensibility*"? It is a clever Novel. They were full of it at Althorp, and tho' it ends stupidly I was much amus'd by it.'<sup>3</sup>

The first edition was not a large one, perhaps between 750 and 1,000 copies.<sup>4</sup> But it sold steadily, and in about eighteen months had been exhausted. On 3 July 1813, Jane Austen told her brother Frank that 'every Copy of S. & S. is sold . . . it has brought me £140 besides the Copy-right'.<sup>5</sup> In the autumn, Egerton, who had undertaken to publish the novel at Miss Austen's risk,<sup>6</sup> 'advised' a second edition, which duly appeared late in October.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i, 4th ser. (Feb. 1812), 149.

<sup>2</sup> xxxix (May 1812), 527.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Granville Leveson Gower . . . *Private Correspondence*, ed. Castalia Countess Granville (London, 1916), ii. 418.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey Keynes, *Jane Austen: A Bibliography* (London, 1929), pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Jane Austen, *Letters*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford, 1932), ii. 317.

<sup>6</sup> Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

<sup>7</sup> *Star*, 29 Oct. 1813. *Morning Post* of 17 Nov. 1815 announces 'a new edition of *Sense and Sensibility*'. It is likely that Egerton was attempting by this means to dispose of the



In the meantime, *Pride and Prejudice* had already been published. It was first advertised in the *Morning Chronicle* of 28 January 1813, and was reviewed promptly, and at length, by the faithful *British Critic*.<sup>1</sup> The character of Elizabeth was found to be 'supported with great spirit and consistency throughout'; Mr. Collins was pronounced 'excellent'; and in Mr. Bennet was discovered 'some novelty of character'. The reviewer also remarked that

We had occasion to speak favourably of the former production of this author or authoress, . . . and we readily do the same of the present. It is very far superior to almost all the publications of the kind which have lately come before us. . . . We entertain very little doubt that their [these volumes'] successful circulation will induce the author to similar exertions.

The *Critical Review* gave its usual lengthy exegesis of the plot, and then continued:

We cannot conclude, without repeating our approbation of this performance, which rises very superior to any novel we have lately met with in the delineation of domestic scenes. . . . There is not one person in the drama with whom we could readily dispense;—they . . . fill their several stations, with great credit to themselves, and much satisfaction to the reader.<sup>2</sup>

Interest was at once aroused—and in a man whose influence was very great. The editor of the *Quarterly Review* told the leading publisher of London that he had

for the first time looked into 'Pride and Prejudice'; and it is really a very pretty thing. No dark passages; no secret chambers; no wind-howlings in long galleries; no drops of blood upon a rusty dagger—things that should now be left to ladies' maids and sentimental washerwomen.<sup>3</sup>

Ground was evidently broken here. Two years later William Gifford made the arrangements for the famous review of *Emma* by Sir Walter Scott,<sup>4</sup> at the very time that John Murray had taken over from Egerton (beginning with the second edition of *Mansfield Park*) the publication of Jane Austen's novels.

But the actual, and immediate, popularity of *Pride and Prejudice* was attested by the future Lady Byron. Early in 1813 she observed that it was 'at present the fashionable novel', and that it contained 'more strength of character than other productions of this kind'.<sup>5</sup> Maria Edgeworth, too, remaining copies of the second edition, since at this very time Miss Austen was quitting him for John Murray.

<sup>1</sup> xli (Feb. 1813), 189–90.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 4th ser. (March 1813), 324.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Smiles, *Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray* (London, 1891), i. 282 [William Gifford to John Murray (1812)].

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, p. 44, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ethel Colburn Mayne, *The Life and Letters of Anne Isabella, Lady Noel Byron* (London, 1929), p. 55.

was reading it. In May she wrote to her half-brother Sneyd, that 'we are again on the London road, and nothing interrupted our perusal of "*Pride and Prejudice*" for the rest of the morning'.<sup>1</sup> Miss Milbanke liked the book; the Edgeworths were non-committal; Lady Davy—the wife of Sir Humphrey—thought unfavourably of it. 'However natural the picture of vulgar minds and manners is there given', she wrote, 'it is unrelieved by the agreeable contrast of more dignified and refined characters. . . . Some power of new character is, however, ably displayed, and Mr. Bennett's [*sic*] indifference is in truth not exaggeration.'<sup>2</sup> Mary Russell Mitford, on 31 October 1814, said that she thought *Pride and Prejudice* 'extremely good',<sup>3</sup> and, in December, elaborated her ideas at some length.

I quite agree with you in preferring Miss Austen to Miss Edgeworth. If the former had a little more taste, a little more perception of the graceful, as well as of the humorous, I know not indeed any one to whom I should not prefer her. There is none of the hardness, the cold selfishness, of Miss Edgeworth about her writings; she is in a much better humour with the world; she preaches no sermons; she wants nothing but the *beau-ideal* of the female character to be a perfect novel writer.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, the popularity of *Pride and Prejudice* was such that Jane's irrepressible brother Henry, much to his sister's dismay, began to speak freely of the secret of its authorship. By September the identity of the 'Author of "Sense and Sensibility"' was known, for example, to Lady Robert Kerr and to Warren Hastings.<sup>5</sup> In December 1814 Miss Mitford was, as has already been noted, referring to Miss Austen by name; her informants were the Baverstocks of Alton, who were, she says, 'at law with Miss A.'s brother for the greater part of his fortune'.<sup>6</sup> Jane Austen herself speaks of the popularity of *Pride and Prejudice* as befriending something she had 'in hand—which I hope on the credit of P. & P. will sell well'.<sup>7</sup> In September 'P. & P.' was being read in Scotland,<sup>8</sup> and Dr. Isham, the Warden of All Souls, was paying its author a well-turned compliment.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. [Frances Anne] Edgeworth, *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth* (London, 1867), i. 279 (Maria Edgeworth to C. S. Edgeworth, 1 May 1813).

<sup>2</sup> *The Hamwood Papers*, ed. Mrs. G. H. Bell (London, 1930), p. 351 (Lady Davy to Sarah Ponsonby, 14 May 1813).

<sup>3</sup> *The Life of Mary Russell Mitford*, ed. A. G. L'Estrange (London, 1870), i. 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 300.

<sup>5</sup> Jane Austen, *Letters*, ii. 320 (Letter of 15 Sept. 1813).

<sup>6</sup> Mitford, *op. cit.* i. 306 (Miss Mitford to Sir W. Elford, 3 April 1815). This letter contains the well-known, but unsubstantiated, observations on Jane Austen's personal characteristics: 'Mamma says that she was then the prettiest, silliest, most affected, husband-hunting butterfly she ever remembers; and a friend of mine, who visits her now, says that she has stiffened into the most perpendicular, precise, taciturn piece of "single blessedness" that ever existed.'

<sup>7</sup> Jane Austen, *Letters*, ii. 317 (Letter of 3 July 1813).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 340 (Letter of 25 Sept. 1813).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 334 (Letter of 23 Sept. 1813).

A second edition was called for speedily;<sup>1</sup> in fact, it was announced on the same day as was the second edition of its predecessor: 29 October 1813. By 1817 this edition had been exhausted, and a third was published.

The 'something' which Miss Austen had in hand in July 1813 was *Mansfield Park*. She had just finished writing it; it is not unlikely that, at the time of her letter, the manuscript was already on Egerton's desk. The first announcement of publication is to be found in the *Star* of 9 May 1814, the edition consisting of about as many copies as did the first edition of *Pride and Prejudice*.<sup>2</sup>

Interest among the early readers of the book was keen, save among the reviewers, by whom it was totally ignored. It was ignored even by Scott, when, in his review of *Emma*, he undertook to speak of its author's previous novels. Jane Austen herself, whose opinion of *Mansfield Park* was high, wondered why this should have been so. On 1 April 1816 she wrote to John Murray, 'I cannot but be sorry that so clever a man as the Reviewer of "*Emma*" should consider [*Mansfield Park*] as unworthy of being noticed'.<sup>3</sup>

Be that as it may, its admirers were numerous. A month after its publication, Lady Vernon was recommending it to Mrs. Frampton in lieu of Madame d'Arblay's recently published *The Wanderer*, as 'very natural, and the characters well drawn'.<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Dudley was equally enthusiastic. On 11 August 1814 he told Mrs. Dugald Stewart that he was 'a great admirer of the two other works by the same author'.

She has not so much fine humour as your friend Miss Edgeworth [he continued], but she is more skilful in contriving a story, she has a great deal more feeling, and she never plagues you with any chemistry, mechanics, or political economy.<sup>5</sup>

In November Miss Romilly wrote to Miss Edgeworth that *Mansfield Park* has been pretty generally admired here, and I think all novels must be that are true to life which this is. . . . It has not however that elevation of virtue, something beyond nature, that gives the greatest charm to a novel, but still it is real natural every day life.<sup>6</sup>

Miss Edgeworth herself presently remarked that 'We have been much entertained with *Mansfield Park*'.<sup>7</sup> In Edinburgh it fared as well as had

<sup>1</sup> Keynes, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 12. The estimate for both books is about 1,500 copies.

<sup>3</sup> Jane Austen, *Letters*, ii. 453.

<sup>4</sup> *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, ed. Harriot Georgiana Mundy (London, 1885), p. 226 [Lady Vernon to Mrs. Frampton (June 1814)].

<sup>5</sup> S. H. Romilly, *Letters to 'Ivy' from the first Earl of Dudley* (London, 1905), p. 250.

<sup>6</sup> *Romilly-Edgeworth Letters*, ed. Samuel Henry Romilly [London (1936)], p. 92 (Anne Romilly to Maria Edgeworth, 7 Nov. 1814).

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. [F. A.] Edgeworth, op. cit. i. 310 (Maria Edgeworth to Miss Ruxton, 26 Dec. 1814).

*Pride and Prejudice*; it was, wrote Lady Robert Kerr to its author, 'universally admired . . . by all the *wise ones*.—Indeed, I have not heard a single fault given to it.'<sup>1</sup>

*Mansfield Park* sold with considerable rapidity; the first edition was exhausted within six months.<sup>2</sup> Egerton must have made some money on it, and he liked it well enough to praise it 'for its Morality, & for being so equal a Composition.—No weak parts.'<sup>3</sup> But he refused to risk a second edition. Possibly Miss Austen refused to let him take the risk. The details of the transaction have disappeared; we know only that she applied elsewhere, and in the *Morning Post* of 19 February 1816 the second edition of *Mansfield Park* was announced, 'Printed for J. Murray, Albemarle-Street'.<sup>4</sup>

Jane Austen's luck in turning to Murray was greater than she was probably aware of. Murray's reader was William Gifford, whose enthusiasm for *Pride and Prejudice* has already been mentioned,<sup>5</sup> and that he seconded Murray's decision to put Miss Austen on his list seems likely. For, at this very juncture, not only was the second edition of *Mansfield Park* needing a publisher, but also the first edition of *Emma*—a book that Gifford very much admired.

This novel was announced in the *Morning Post* of 2 December 1815 as being ready for publication 'in a few days'. The announcement was repeated on the 6th, but the book did not actually appear until the 29th, probably because the date '1816' had already been printed on its title-page. More convincing proof of Jane Austen's growing reputation than in the various circumstances surrounding the publication of *Emma* could not be found. In the first place, it was by permission dedicated to the Prince Regent.<sup>6</sup> In the second place, it was reviewed in the *Quarterly* by Sir Walter Scott.<sup>7</sup> And in the third place, it promptly found readers outside

<sup>1</sup> Jane Austen, *Plan of a Novel* (Oxford, 1926), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Keynes, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Jane Austen, *Plan of a Novel*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Egerton retained his interest in the previous books, and in 1817 issued the third edition of *Pride and Prejudice*. I have been unable to trace in the press any announcement of this edition.

<sup>5</sup> That Gifford was in correspondence with Miss Austen is clear from the inclusion of his name among those who offered her hints for the plot of a novel (cf. Jane Austen, *Plan of a Novel*, p. 9).

<sup>6</sup> The often repeated story of Miss Austen's introduction to Carlton House and her revealing correspondence with its librarian may be found in William Austen-Leigh and Richard Austen-Leigh, *Jane Austen Her Life and Letters* (London, 1913), pp. 311-24. Among Clarke's letters to Miss Austen are the following remarks: 'The Regent has read and admired all your publications'; 'Lord St. Helens and many of the nobility . . . paid you the just tribute of their praise.'

<sup>7</sup> xiv (Oct. 1815), 188-201. The discrepancy in dates is due to the fact that this issue of the *Quarterly* did not appear until 9 March 1816. It is an interesting speculation as to whether or not Jane Austen ever knew who wrote this anonymous review. For a discussion of the facts underlying Scott's authorship, see my article, *P.M.L.A.*, xlv (Dec. 1930), 1264-6.

England. Before me are three copies of *Emma*; their imprints are respectively London, 1816; Philadelphia, 1816;<sup>1</sup> and Paris, 1816.

Reference has been made above to the high estimation in which William Gifford held *Emma*. It was he who saw it through the press, and it would seem more than likely that it was he who suggested to Murray the desirability of a review for the *Quarterly*—and a review from a capable pen. On 29 September 1815 he had finished reading the novel in manuscript, and wrote to Murray that he had 'read "*Pride and Prejudice*" *again*—'tis very good. . . . Of "*Emma*", I have nothing but good to say. I was sure of the writer before you mentioned her.'<sup>2</sup> On Christmas Day of the same year Murray asked Scott if he had 'any fancy to dash off an article on "*Emma*"? It wants incident and romance, does it not? None of the author's other novels have been noticed [I assume that Murray here means in the *Quarterly*], and surely "*Pride and Prejudice*" merits high commendation.'<sup>3</sup>

The *Quarterly* was by no means alone in noticing the book. In July 1816 the *British Critic* interspersed the following comments throughout several lengthy quotations:

Whoever is fond of an amusing, inoffensive, and well principled novel, will be well pleased with the perusal of *EMMA*. It rarely happens that in a production of this nature we have so little to find fault with. . . . The author . . . has contrived in a very interesting manner . . . to form out of slender materials a very pleasing tale.<sup>4</sup>

The *Monthly Review*, also in July, said:

If this novel can scarcely be called a composition, because it contains but one ingredient, that one is, however, of sterling worth; being a strain of genuine natural humour, such as is seldom found conjointly with the complete purity of images and ideas which is here conspicuous. The character of Mr. Woodhouse . . . is admirably drawn, and the dialogue is easy and lively.<sup>5</sup>

In September the *Gentleman's Magazine* remarked that

From the entertainment which [*Pride and Prejudice*] afforded us, we were desirous to peruse the present work; nor have our expectations been disappointed. . . . The unities of time and place are well preserved; the language is chaste and correct; and if '*Emma*' be not allowed to rank in the very highest class of modern Novels, it certainly may claim at least a distinguished degree of eminence in that species of composition. It is amusing, if not instructive; and has no tendency to deteriorate the heart.<sup>6</sup>

In June 1817 the *Literary Panorama* offered the following, somewhat

<sup>1</sup> The existence of this edition, 'Three Volumes in Two', has only lately become known. It is not recorded by Mr. Keynes.

<sup>2</sup> Smiles, op. cit. i. 282.

<sup>3</sup> vi, N.S. (July 1816), 96, 98.

<sup>5</sup> lxxx (July 1816), 320.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. i. 288.

<sup>6</sup> lxxxvi, pt. ii (Sept. 1816), 248-9.

unexpected, observation on the characters of Mr. Woodhouse and Mr. Knightley:

The story is not ill conceived; it is not romantic but domestic. To favour the lady, the gentlemen are rather unequal to what gentlemen should be.<sup>1</sup>

By 2 July 1816 Miss Mitford had read *Emma*, and considered it 'the best of all [Jane Austen's] charming works'.<sup>2</sup> In January 1816 Maria Edgeworth records the gift of a copy of *Emma* from its author,<sup>3</sup> but the only indication as to how it was received in her circle of friends comes with decisive finality in a letter written to her by Anne Romilly in May. 'In [*Emma*] there is so little to remember . . . that I am not inclined to write about [it].'<sup>4</sup> Susan Ferrier, however, was not so unfavourably disposed.

I have been reading 'Emma', which is excellent; there is no story whatever, and the heroine is no better than other people; but the characters are all so true to life, and the style so piquant that it does not require the adventitious aids of mystery and adventure.<sup>5</sup>

Among the opinions of *Emma* that were preserved by its author there are two worth noting: that 'Mr Jeffery (of the Edinburgh Review) was kept up by it three nights';<sup>6</sup> and that the Countess of Morley was 'delighted with it'.<sup>7</sup> Now it so chanced that Lady Morley not only shared the secret of Jane Austen's authorship,<sup>8</sup> but that, indeed, she herself had been widely credited with that very authorship. As early as 1813 Miss Mitford had inquired as to this from Sir William Elford:

Pray, is not your neighbour, Lady Boringdon,<sup>9</sup> an authoress? I have heard of two novels in high repute (but which I have not read), 'Sense and Sensibility' and 'Pride and Prejudice', ascribed to her.<sup>10</sup>

And in his diary for 31 October 1814, Hobhouse wrote:

Lord and Lady Boringdon came last night. My lady is suspected of having written the two novels: 'Pride and Prejudice' and 'Sense and Sensibility'.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vi, n.s. (June 1817), 418.

<sup>2</sup> Mitford, op. cit. i. 331 (Miss Mitford to Sir W. Elford).

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. [F. A.] Edgeworth, op. cit. i. 317 (Maria Edgeworth to Mrs. Ruxton, 10 Jan. 1816).

<sup>4</sup> Romilly-Edgeworth Letters, p. 143 (Anne Romilly to Maria Edgeworth, 7 May 1816).

<sup>5</sup> *Memoir and Correspondence of Susan Ferrier*, ed. John A. Doyle (London, 1898), p. 128 (Susan Ferrier to Charlotte Clavering, 1816).

<sup>6</sup> Jane Austen, *Plan of a Novel*, p. 23. Jeffery paid a brief tribute to Jane Austen in his *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review* (London, 1844), iii. 396.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. her letter of 27 Dec. 1815, acknowledging the copy of *Emma* sent to her at the author's request, in Jane Austen, *Letters*, ii. 448.

<sup>9</sup> Lord Boringdon did not become the Earl of Morley until 1815.

<sup>10</sup> Mitford, op. cit. i. 241 (Miss Mitford to Sir W. Elford, 10 Nov. 1813).

<sup>11</sup> Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, 1909), i. 167.



The first edition of *Emma* consisted of 2,000 copies; within a year 1,250 had been disposed of.<sup>1</sup> But not long after that year was out, Jane Austen had laid aside the manuscript of her last, uncompleted novel, and had gone to Winchester for the medical assistance that was to prove of no avail. She died on 18 July 1817. Four days later her name appeared publicly for the first time.

On the 18th inst. at Winchester, [died] Miss Jane Austen, youngest daughter of the late Rev. George Austen, Rector of Steventon, in Hampshire, and the Authoress of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Sense and Sensibility*. Her manners were most gentle; her affections ardent; her candour was not to be surpassed, and she lived and died as became a humble Christian.<sup>2</sup>

Other obituary notices followed, most of them making reference to Miss Austen's authorship.<sup>3</sup> Miss Mitford, no longer remembering her careless gossip of former years, wrote on 13 September, 'I had not heard of Miss Austen's death. What a terrible loss! Are you quite sure that it is our Miss Austen?'<sup>4</sup>

The loss of one so relatively young—we know this to-day—was indeed severe, but at least Jane Austen's immediate public had the satisfaction of seeing two more novels from her pen within a fairly short time subsequent to her death. *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* were published, according to the *Morning Chronicle*, on 19 December 1817.

From the space accorded by the reviewers to the biographical note prefixed to volume i of *Northanger Abbey* it is evident that a good deal of interest had been aroused as to the identity of the 'Author of "Pride and Prejudice," "Mansfield Park," &c.' The *British Critic* quoted the biography at considerable length, and followed it with an extensive analysis of Jane Austen's work in general.

With respect to the talents of Jane Austen, they need no other voucher, than the works which she has left behind her; which in some of the best qualities of the best sort of novels, display a degree of excellence that has not been often surpassed. . . . Our authoress gives no definitions; but she makes her *dramatis personae* talk; and the sentiments which she places in their mouths, the little phrases which she makes them use, strike so familiarly upon our memory as soon as we hear them repeated, that we instantly recognize among some of our acquaintance, the sort of persons she intends to signify, as accurately as if we

<sup>1</sup> Keynes, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Courier* (London), 22 July 1817. This obituary was reprinted in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 28 July 1817. Guy Rawlence (*Jane Austen*, 1934, pp. 143-4) suggests that it was written by Miss Austen's brother, Henry.

<sup>3</sup> *Star*, 8 Aug. 1817; *London Chronicle*, 11 Aug. 1817; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug. 1817, 184; *Monthly Magazine*, 1 Sept. 1817, 191; *New Monthly Magazine*, 1 Sept. 1817, 173.

<sup>4</sup> Mitford, op. cit. ii. 13 (Miss Mitford to Sir W. Elford).

had heard their voices. . . . She sees every thing just as it is; even her want of imagination (which is the principal defect of her writings) is useful to her in this respect, that it enables her to keep clear of all exaggeration, in a mode of writing where the least exaggeration would be fatal. . . . *Northanger Abbey* is one of the very best of Miss Austen's productions, and will every way repay the time and trouble of perusing it. Some of the incidents in it are rather improbable, and the character of General Tilney . . . is not portrayed with our authoress's usual taste and judgment. There is also a considerable want of delicacy in all the circumstances of Catherine's visit to the Abbey. . . . With respect to the second of the novels, which the present publication contains, it . . . is in every respect a much less fortunate performance. . . . It is manifestly the work of the same mind, and contains parts of very great merit; among them, however, we certainly should not number its *moral*, which seems to be, that young people should always marry according to their own inclinations and upon their own judgment.<sup>1</sup>

In May the *Edinburgh Magazine* set the seal upon the popularity which, as has already been noted, Jane Austen enjoyed in Scotland, by saying that

We are happy to receive two other novels from the pen of this amiable and agreeable authoress, though our satisfaction is much alloyed, from the feeling, that they must be the last. . . . We have no hesitation in saying, that the delightful writer of the works now before us, will be one of the most popular of English novelists, and if, indeed, we could point out the individual who, within a certain limited range, has attained the highest perfection of the art of novel writing, we should have little scruple in fixing upon her. . . . She has much observation,—much fine sense,—much delicate humour,—many pathetic touches,—and throughout all her works, a most charitable view of human nature, and a tone of gentleness and purity that are almost unequalled.<sup>2</sup>

The *Gentleman's Magazine* was in agreement with the *British Critic* as regards *Persuasion*.

Northanger Abbey, however, is decidedly preferable to the second Novel, not only in the incidents, but even in its moral tendency.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, Whately was the first critic to find anything at all favourable to say about this 'less fortunate performance'. In January 1821 the *Quarterly* published his well-known review,<sup>4</sup> which has an incidental interest in its remarks on *Mansfield Park*—the first notice of this novel that had yet been taken in the periodical press.

In the meantime Lady Byron, early in 1818, was reading 'the new novels, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* (recommended by Augusta)',<sup>5</sup> and shortly thereafter Maria Edgeworth was doing likewise.

<sup>1</sup> ix, n.s. (March 1818), 296-8, 301.

<sup>3</sup> lxxxviii, pt. ii (July 1818), 52-3.

<sup>5</sup> Mayne, op. cit., p. 276. In 1941 (Catalogue 126) Scribner's offered for sale a copy

<sup>2</sup> ii (May 1818), 453-5.

<sup>4</sup> xxiv (Jan. 1821), 352-76.



I entirely agree with you, my dearest aunt, on one subject. . . . The behaviour of the General in 'Northanger Abbey', packing off the young lady without a servant or the common civilities which any bear of a man, not to say gentleman, would have shown, is quite outrageously out of drawing and out of nature. 'Persuasion'—excepting the tangled, useless histories of the family in the first fifty pages—appears to me, especially in all that relates to poor Anne and her lover, to be exceedingly interesting and natural.<sup>1</sup>

## III

The subsequent growth of Jane Austen's reputation seems to have been mainly accelerated by the famous passage in which Macaulay, 'her first slightly ponderous amoroso', as Henry James called him,<sup>2</sup> compared her to Shakespeare,<sup>3</sup> and by the publication in 1870 of the first official and full-length biography, the *Memoir* written by Miss Austen's nephew.<sup>4</sup> But in the generation directly following her death her name, even then, was in no danger of being forgotten; of this the following testimonies give ample evidence.

The first of these is extravagantly fatuous. In 1823 the *Retrospective Review* published an anonymous article on 'The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins'. In the midst of this piece, which is otherwise an altogether respectable job, the writer was suddenly impelled to pay his 'humble tribute of respect to the memory of Jane Austen', and this is the way he went about it:

Into one particular character, indeed, she has breathed her whole soul and being; and in this we please ourselves with thinking, we see and know herself. And what is this character?—A mind beautifully framed, graceful, imaginative, and feminine, but penetrating, sagacious, and profound.—A soul harmonious, gentle, and most sweetly attuned,—susceptible of all that is beautiful in nature, pure in morals, sublime in religion;—a soul—on which, if, by any accidental contact with the vulgar, or the vicious, the slightest shade of impurity was ever thrown, it vanished instantaneously. . . . A temper even, cheerful, gladdening, and serene as the mild evening of summer's loveliest day, in which the very insect that lives but an hour, doth desport and enjoy existence. . . . With a sunny eye to reflect the glad smiles of happy friends,—dim and cloudy at the sight of others' grief; but not revealing the deep seated woes of the remote chambers of her own breast. . . . The beloved confidante of the young and infantine . . . exchanging smiles, that would arrest an angel on his winged way, for obstreperous

of the first edition of *Emma* with the following inscription on the title-page: 'Augusta Leigh—1815, the 1<sup>st</sup> copy, given by M<sup>r</sup> Murray.'

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. [F. A.] Edgeworth, op. cit. ii. 5-6 (Maria Edgeworth to Mrs. Ruxton, 21 Feb. 1818).

<sup>2</sup> Henry James, *The Question of Our Speech* . . . (Boston, 1905), p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, lxxvi (Jan. 1843), 561.

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen* (London, 1870).

laughs;—and sweet low accents, for shrill treble screams. . . . Strong in innocence as a tower, with a face of serenity, and a collectedness of demeanour, from which danger and misery—the very tawny lion in his rage—might flee discomfited,—a fragile, delicate, feeble, and most feminine woman! Whether, in this enumeration of female excellencies, one of those deeply attached friends, of whom she was sure to have had many, might recognize some, or most of the admirable qualities of JANE AUSTEN, we cannot say;—but sure we are . . . [that] such, or nearly such, are those, of which she has herself compounded one of the most beautiful female characters ever drawn;—we mean, the heroine of *Persuasion*. . . . Our conversation . . . is among the tombs; and there dwells all that once enshrined in a form of beauty a soul of exceeding and surpassing brightness.—O lost too soon to us!—but our loss has been thy immortal gain.<sup>1</sup>

Scott felt otherwise. His brusque, straightforward affection for Jane Austen's novels grew stronger as the years went by. His review of *Emma* had been a little harsh, but the remarks scattered with some frequency throughout his journal and his letters are a different matter. In 1822 he asked Miss Baillie if she knew

Miss Austen authoress of some novels which have a great deal of nature in them—nature in ordinary and middle life to be sure but valuable from its strong resemblance and correct drawing.<sup>2</sup>

His journal for 14 March 1826 contains the most celebrated criticism ever made of Jane Austen: 'the Big Bow-wow strain.'<sup>3</sup> A fortnight later he dismissed as second-rate a novel

called *Grandby* [*sic*]. . . . The women do this better—Edgeworth, Ferriar [*sic*], Austen have all had their portraits of real society, far superior to anything Man, vain Man, has produced of a like nature.<sup>4</sup>

The following year he was again reading 'one of Miss Austen's novels', and commented that

There is a truth of painting in her writings which always delights me. They do not, it is true, get above the middle classes of society, but there she is inimitable.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vii (1823), 133–5.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Letters*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London, 1934), vii. 60 (Scott to Joanna Baillie, 10 Feb. 1822).

<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Journal*, 1825–26 (Edinburgh, 1939), p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144. T. H. Lister, *Grandby* (London, 1826). This novel contains, incidentally, the following reference to Jane Austen (i. 148): 'But do tell me your favourite novels. I hope you like nothing of Miss Edgeworth's or Miss Austen's. They are full of commonplace people, that one recognizes at once.' Another work of fiction, and one of the most widely read of its day, Miss Mitford's *Our Village* (London, 1824), contains the following tribute (p. 2): 'Nothing [in books] is so delightful as to sit down in a country village in one of Miss Austen's delicious novels, quite sure before we leave it to become intimate with every spot and every person it contains.' In the preface to her popular novel *Pin Money* (London, 1831), Mrs. Gore explains that it exhibits 'an attempt to transfer the familiar narrative of Miss Austen [*sic*] to a higher sphere of society'.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Journal*, 1827–28 (Edinburgh, 1941), p. 103.

And in December 1831, when Sir Walter was in Malta, he spoke to Lockhart of the 'finishing-off in some of her scenes that is really quite above every body else'.<sup>1</sup>

A clear indication of how familiar Jane Austen's characters already were to the general public comes from Lockhart himself. In referring to these personages in his *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Byron*,<sup>2</sup> he plainly infers that no identification of who they were or where they came from was necessary.

Now, tell me, Mrs. Goddard, now tell me, Miss Price, now tell me, dear Harriet Smith, and dear, dear Mrs. Elton, do tell me, is not this just the very look, that one would have fancied for Childe Harold? . . . Poor Lord Byron! who can say how much he may have been to be pitted? I am sure I would; I can bear with all Mr. E.'s eccentricities. . . . What think you of that other [passage] we were talking of on Saturday evening at Miss Bates's?

—'Nay, smile not at my sullen brow,

Alas! I cannot smile again.'

I forget the rest;—but nobody has such a memory as Mrs. E.

Scott, Miss Edgeworth, Jeffrey, Miss Ferrier, Miss Mitford, Lockhart, Whately. . . . Jane Austen's name was, to the literary world of her day, a familiar one, and one that was held in esteem and affection. In 1835 Coleridge's 'high commendation of Miss Austen's novels, as being in their way perfectly genuine and individual productions' was made public.<sup>3</sup> Bulwer-Lytton wrote to his mother to reprove her for disliking

*Emma* and the other books. They enjoy the highest reputation, and I own, for my part, I was delighted with them. . . . Their charm is in being so natural and simple. At all events, they are generally much admired, and I was quite serious in my praise of them.<sup>4</sup>

*Emma* herself was equally popular with Cardinal Newman.

I have been reading 'Emma'. Everything Miss Austen writes is clever, but I desiderate something. There is a want of *body* to the story. The action is frittered away in over-little things. There are some beautiful things in it. *Emma* herself is the most interesting to me of all her heroines. I feel kind to her whenever I think of her. . . . That other woman, Fairfax, is a dolt—but I like *Emma*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [J. G. Lockhart] *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh, 1838), vii. 338.

<sup>2</sup> John Bull, *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Byron* (London, 1821), pp. 29–31. The identity of 'John Bull' has been established by Alan Lang Strout in his edition of the pamphlet (Norman, Oklahoma, 1947).

<sup>3</sup> *Specimens of the Table Talk of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge* [ed. Henry Nelson Coleridge] (London, 1835), i. 112.

<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Lytton, *The Life of Edward Bulwer First Lord Lytton* (London, 1913), i. 457 (Edward Bulwer to Mrs. W. E. Bulwer, 23 Oct. 1834).

<sup>5</sup> *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, ed. Anne Mozley (London, 1890), ii. 200 (J. H. Newman to Mrs. John Mozley, 19 Jan. 1837).

In 1838 Harriet Martineau recorded her enthusiasm for Jane Austen.

I read Whately's review of Miss Austen. Good, but not particularly striking. She *was* a glorious novelist.

Read 'Pride and Prejudice' again last night. I think it as clever as before. . . . Finished 'Pride and Prejudice'. It is wonderfully clever.

Read 'Northanger Abbey'. Capital.

Read 'Emma'—most admirable. The little complexities of the story are beyond my comprehension, and wonderfully beautiful.

We talked over every species of novel. Rogers observes that in Scott's the story stands still during the dialogue, while in Miss Austen's, as in a play, the story proceeds by means of the dialogue. Mr. Ker says Scott's characters are not true to nature,—only the vestments of nature. Miss Austen's, you know every one.<sup>1</sup>

To Southey, Miss Austen's novels were 'more true to nature, and [had] . . . passages of finer feelings than any others of this age'.<sup>2</sup>

The references accumulate. In 1834 and 1836 Macready's diary records his impressions of three of the novels.

Finished Miss Austen's 'Emma', which amused me very much, impressing me with a high opinion of her powers of drawing and sustaining character, though not satisfying me always with the end and aim of her labours. She is successful in painting the ridiculous to the life. . . . We are not much better, but perhaps a little more prudent for her writings. She does not probe the vices, but lays bare the weaknesses of character; the blemish on the skin, and not the corruption at the heart, is what she examines.

After dinner read a part of 'Northanger Abbey', which I do not much like. Heavy, and too long a strain of irony on one topic.

'Mansfield Park' . . . has the prevailing fault of the pleasant authoress's books; it deals too much in descriptions of the various states of mind, into which her characters are thrown, and amplifies into a page a search for motives which a stroke of the pen might give with greater power and interest.

Finished 'Mansfield Park', which hurries with a very inartificial and disagreeable rapidity to its conclusion. . . . The great merit of Miss Austen is in the finishing of her characters; the action and conduct of her stories I think frequently defective.<sup>3</sup>

Macready and Fanny Kemble did not see eye to eye as regards their profession, nor did they as regards books. Miss Kemble wrote in her journal for 31 July 1831:

Our dinner-party this evening was like nothing but a chapter out of one of

<sup>1</sup> Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography* (London, 1877), iii. 199, 214, 215, 218.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Egerton Brydges, *Autobiography* (London, 1834), ii. 269 (Robert Southey to Sir E. Brydges, 8 April 1830).

<sup>3</sup> Macready's *Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diaries and Letters*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock (London, 1875), i. 412; ii. 39-40.

Miss Austen's novels. What wonderful books those are! She must have written down the very conversations she heard *verbatim*, to have made them so like, which is Irish.<sup>1</sup>

By the time he was nineteen, i.e. in 1834, Anthony Trollope 'had already made up [his] mind that *Pride and Prejudice* was the best novel in the English language'.<sup>2</sup> At Holland House Jane Austen's novels were adjudged to be 'excellent'.<sup>3</sup> Sara Coleridge recorded in August 1834 the reactions to Miss Austen of her father, of Southey, and of Wordsworth.

I cannot see in her [Hannah More's] productions aught comparable to . . . the delicate mirth, the gently-hinted satire, the feminine decorous humour of Jane Austen, who, if not the greatest, is surely the most faultless of female novelists. My uncle Southey and my father had an equally high opinion of her merits, but Mr. Wordsworth used to say that though he admitted that her novels were an admirable copy of life, he could not be interested in productions of that kind; unless the truth of nature were presented to him clarified, as it were, by the pervading light of imagination, it had scarce any attractions in his eyes.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime Jane Austen's reputation was securing a foothold on the other side of the Atlantic. Mention has already been made of the appearance of *Emma* in Philadelphia in 1816. I have not discovered that any of the other novels were published in America before 1832, but there is evidence that the original English editions were being sent there. In 1826 Chief Justice Marshall

read all of Jane Austen's works, and playfully reproved Story for failing to name her in a list of authors given in his Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard. . . . 'I had just finished reading her novels when I received your discourse. . . . Her flights are not lofty, she does not soar on eagle's wings, but she is pleasing, interesting, equable, and yet amusing. I count on your making some apology for this omission.'<sup>5</sup>

Carey & Lea did not publish *Emma* until 28 June 1833, but William Dunlap records in his diary for 11, 13, and 15 February of the same year that he was reading this novel (possibly in the American edition of 1816) 'with much pleasure'.<sup>6</sup> A few years later Longfellow wrote in his journal that he was amused [himself] with Miss Austen's novels. She has great power and dis-

<sup>1</sup> Frances Ann Kemble, *Record of a Girlhood* (London, 1878), iii. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *An Autobiography* (London, 1883), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *The Greville Memoirs*, ed. Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford (London, 1938), iii. 80 (Greville's Diary, 5 Sept. 1834).

<sup>4</sup> *Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge* [ed. E. Coleridge] (London, 1873), i. 75 (Sara Coleridge to Emily Trevenen, Aug. 1834).

<sup>5</sup> Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston [1919]), iv. 79-80 (John Marshall to Joseph Story, 26 Nov. 1826). Story's own admiration for Jane Austen, in particular for *Emma*, is recounted in W. W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* (Boston, 1851), i. 506-7.

<sup>6</sup> William Dunlap, *Diary* (New York, 1930), iii. 655-6.

crimination in delineating commonplace people; and her writings are a capital picture of real life, with all the little wheels and machinery laid bare like a patent clock. But she explains and fills out too much.<sup>1</sup>

The American demand seemed, indeed, to be almost as great as, if not greater than the English. Carey & Lea began their publication of Jane Austen's works in their entirety in 1832; Bentley did not begin until 1833.<sup>2</sup> And the first formal notice, and criticism, of Jane Austen to be published in book form will be found in Samuel Knapp's *Female Biography*, which was published in New York in 1834.<sup>3</sup>

## IV

To return to my opening paragraph. There would appear to be no evidence that Jane Austen was neglected or forgotten by her contemporaries, or that the generation that followed her death was in any way obliged to rediscover her. From the first, her reputation enjoyed an even and steady expansion. When Bentley republished her novels the problem of malnutrition had become a serious one. It is, happily, a problem that has never arisen again; there have been few publishers who have ever failed to find it profitable to issue a book by Jane Austen.

But the most noticeable features of the tributes paid by her early critics to Jane Austen are a plainness and a simplicity that seem wholly appropriate to the issues involved in her art. It is no wonder that the very modesty of these remarks has occasioned the legend that her immense reputation is an altogether modern phenomenon. Modest they are, in the main, but in the main they are perceptive, and that is what is important. Indeed, the guests at Lady Bessborough's house party at Althorp were not the only ones who were 'full of it'.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. Samuel Longfellow (Boston, 1886), i. 323.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of publication of Carey & Lea's editions, as recorded in *The National Gazette and Literary Register* of Philadelphia, are as follows: *Elizabeth Bennet*, 24 Aug. 1832; *Persuasion*, 7 Nov. 1832; *Mansfield Park*, 13 Dec. 1832; *Northanger Abbey*, 19 Jan. 1833; *Sense and Sensibility*, 19 Feb. 1833; *Emma*, 28 June 1833. On 14 Aug. 1838 Carey, Lea & Blanchard published *The Novels of Jane Austen*, two volumes in one, numbering respectively 387 and 376 pages, printed in double columns. This edition is not recorded by Mr. Keynes.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel L. Knapp, *Female Biography* (New York, 1834), p. 44.



## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

### CHARLES GILDON AND THE QUARREL OF THE ANCIENTS AND MODERNS

IN his article on the background of the Battle of the Books,<sup>1</sup> R. F. Jones regrets not having been able to see any of the contents of Gildon's *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays* (London, 1694), except the two essays which are reprinted by W. H. Durham in his *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1725* (New Haven, 1915). He conjectures that there may be some further material in the book which is relevant to the Ancients and Moderns controversy. There is not much, but there is some; and what there is has some historical interest. As far as I know no one since Jones has examined the book from this particular point of view: hence the following brief account.

'Gildon', Professor Nichol Smith justly writes,<sup>2</sup> 'was a man whose ideas took their colour from their surroundings', and his position in 1694 accurately reflects a particular phase in the history of English criticism. It is a reasonably accurate summary to say that he champions the Moderns against the Ancients, but his interests are narrower than this suggests. The dominant notes are literary patriotism and admiration for Dryden. In the former, the Epistle Dedicatory to Sir John Trenchard (which gives the impression that Gildon's quill was already tolerably venal in 1694) and the Preface confirm the evidence available in the essays in Durham's collection. Gildon writes in the Epistle of 'our known RIGHT and HONOUR, which are impiously invaded, and as *weakly*, as *ignobly* betray'd to a *Foreign People*, by a *bigotted* Veneration for a former Age', and in the Preface: 'I am sorry, that a Man of Mr. Rymer's Learning shou'd be so bigotted to the *Antients*, as to become an Enemy to the Honor of his own Country in that thing, which is perhaps the only one we can truly pretend to excel all others in, *viz. Poetry*.' His admiration for Dryden is shown in the short complimentary letter to him with which the text of the book opens, and in the following passage from the reply to Rymer, which is addressed to Dryden: 'in you, Sir, The *Poet*, and The *Critic* meet in their highest Perfection; and if the *Critic* discover the Faults of *Shakespear*, The *Poet* will also see, and admire his Beauties, and Perfections' (p. 65).

These two enthusiasms are about as near to critical principles as Gildon gets, but what he says on other aspects of the Ancients and Moderns controversy has some interest in the light of Jones's account of its whole

<sup>1</sup> *Washington University Studies (Humanistic Series)*, vii (1920), p. 140, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare* (Glasgow, 1903), p. xvi.

R.E.S. New Series, Vol. I, No. 1 (1950).



history. It is a commonplace that the authority of Aristotle as a critic outlived his authority as a philosopher, and the justification for this discrimination was well put by Rymer: 'what *Aristotle* writes on this Subject are not the dictates of his own magisterial will or dry deductions of his *Metaphysics*: But the Poets were his Masters, and what was their practice he reduced to principles.'<sup>1</sup> But not all were entirely satisfied with this. 'How could Aristotle', writes E. N. Hooker,<sup>2</sup> 'have "methodized" nature satisfactorily when the true order of Nature was revealed only by the discoveries and writings of such men as Galileo, Descartes, and Newton? The answer to these questions is not to be found in Rapin, and apparently English critics gave it no closer thought'. Now Gildon is writing just at the time when the Ancients and Moderns controversy in England had almost abandoned the field of general, and especially scientific, learning for that of art and poetry. But the older tradition still survives sufficiently to prompt Gildon to raise the question to which Hooker says that English critics gave no clear thought: 'since the *Ipse dixit* has been so long laid aside in Philosophy, as an enemy to our Enquiries into Nature, I can see no reason why it shou'd be of so much greater force in Poetry.' When the ancients deviate from sense and nature, he goes on, 'I must think it but just to withdraw my self from the subjection of the *Stagyrite*, who has had a Reign long enough o'er the Minds of Mankind' (p. 146). Gildon does not make anything of this except a debating point against Rymer—and, as we have seen, Rymer had answered it in advance—but it is interesting to find him explicitly transferring to the poetic field the conventional charges of the Baconian tradition against the 'Stagyrite'.

If Gildon looks back in this passage to the earlier stages of the controversy in England, another passage shows him on the border-line between France and England:

'Tis certain, the *Grecians* had not the advantage of us in *Physics*, or any other part of Philosophy, which with them chiefly consisted in words; they were a Talkative People; and being fond of the Opinion of Learning, more than the thing it self, as the most speedy way to gain that, stop'd their Enquiries on Terms, as is evident from their *Sophistry* and *Dialectic's*. There can be no dispute among the Learned, but that we excel them in these points. Since the time of *Des Cartes*, when the Dictates of *Greece* began to be laid aside, what a Progress has been made in the discovery of Nature? and what Absurdities laid open in the School Precepts, and Terms of *Aristotle*' (p. 87).

What is interesting here is to find the conventional Royal Society accusations against the Greeks for preferring words to things linked not, as they would inevitably have been in the earlier phase of the controversy, with the

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1908), ii. 165.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Works of John Dennis* (Baltimore, 1943), ii. lxxxiv.

name of Bacon, but with that of Descartes. Gildon was certainly an accurate mirror of the intellectual fashions of the moment. A few years earlier it would have been Bacon, a few years later Newton. It is a little odd that this stout patriot in the criticism of poetry should have dealt with this topic at a time when it was natural for one who was influenced by the French side of the Ancients and Moderns controversy, and was not very closely in touch with science,<sup>1</sup> to invoke a French rather than an English patron for the new philosophy.

J. C. MAXWELL

### CROUSAZ ON POPE

JOHNSON in an undated letter to Cave (Hill-Powell's *Boswell*, i. 137) wrote: 'I am pretty much of your opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success.' Dr. Powell was the first to point out, supplementing Boswell, that by 'Commentary' Johnson meant his own translation of Crousaz: *A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality*. Dr. Powell had seen only Cave's edition of this book, 1742. Messrs. A. T. Hazen and E. L. McAdam, in *Yale University Library Gazette*, Jan. 1936, announced the discovery of a very rare earlier edition, printed by Cave for A. Dodd and dated 1739. The edition of 1742 was a reissue of this with a new title-page. Hazen-McAdam inferred from the facts that the edition of 1739, if ever published, was withdrawn from publication; and they found a plausible reason in the existence, in the British Museum, of an earlier translation dated 1738. They did not describe this book, which perhaps they had not seen. It is *Commentary upon Mr. Pope's Four Ethic Epistles*, and was published by Curll. The promise of the title is retracted in a note on p. x, which states that the commentary on the second epistle 'is in the Press'; the instalment is less than 100 pages. That Curll failed to go on is perhaps suggested by the facts that in the copy I describe the *Commentary* is bound with Warburton's *Vindication* of 1740, and that the B.M. copy is, like it, only a first instalment; if Curll's book remained a torso, that might explain Cave's revival in 1742 of his book of 1739.

R. W. CHAPMAN

<sup>1</sup> Most of the real scientists had been sceptical about Cartesianism from the start, and continued to be so.

### MARY BARTON AND HISTORICAL ACCURACY

*Mary Barton* appears to give such an accurate picture of social conditions in Manchester in the thirties of the last century, and is so obviously founded on Mrs. Gaskell's first-hand experience of those conditions as the wife of a Manchester minister, that it is a surprise to find the very opening scene of the novel flatly contradicted by certain contemporary evidence.

There are some fields near Manchester, well known to the inhabitants as 'Green Heys Fields', through which runs a public footpath to a little village about two miles distant. In spite of these fields being flat and low, nay, in spite of the want of wood (the great and usual recommendation of level tracts of land), there is a charm about them which strikes even the inhabitant of a mountainous district, who sees and feels the effect of contrast in these commonplace but thoroughly rural fields, with the busy, bustling manufacturing town he left but half an hour ago.

So the novel begins, and its second paragraph goes on:

I do not know whether it was on a holiday granted by the masters, or a holiday seized in right of Nature and her beautiful spring time by the workmen, but one afternoon (now ten or a dozen years ago) these fields were much thronged.

Mrs. Gaskell went to Manchester in 1832, taking memories of her 'Cranford' with her as Alice Wilson in the novel brings memories of hers. *Mary Barton* was published in 1848. The 'ten or a dozen years ago', therefore, set the date of the opening scene somewhere between 1835 and 1838, a time when, according to Mrs. Gaskell, a 'thoroughly rural' country-side was within half an hour's walk of the city.

When we turn to contemporary evidence, however, we find, with reference both to holidays and to opportunities for recreation, that Mrs. Gaskell's picture is refuted in at least one important instance.

At present the entire labouring population of Manchester is without any season of recreation and is ignorant of all amusements, excepting that very small portion which frequents the theatre. Healthful exercise in the open air is seldom or never taken by the artisans of this town, and their health certainly suffers considerable depression from this deprivation. One reason for this state of affairs is, that all scenes of interest are remote from the town, and that the walks that can be enjoyed by the poor are chiefly the turnpike roads, alternately dusty or muddy.

I have called this evidence important for two reasons: first, because these are the words of Dr. J. P. Kay,<sup>1</sup> writing in 1833. Dr. Kay's experience of Manchester was as personal as Mrs. Gaskell's, since he settled there in

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kay later became Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, and is chiefly remembered for his services to elementary education.

1827, and as a doctor had as much opportunity as the wife of a minister of religion for coming into contact with the living conditions of the working class. Secondly, we may assume this evidence to be important because it is used by two of the most reliable social historians of our time, Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond.<sup>1</sup>

Whom, then, shall we believe? Faced with this contradiction, one is tempted at first to think that Mrs. Gaskell, overcome by an understandable nostalgia for the country-side, has tended to exaggerate her memories of Manchester amenities of ten or twelve years previously. There is, however, that pin-point reference to 'Green Heys Fields' which still exist (though in name only), and there is also the accuracy of the social observation of *Mary Barton* in general. Is it likely that Mrs. Gaskell would open the novel with a scene which her contemporaries would recognize as erroneous? On the other hand, Dr. Kay is plainly out to make a case for the increase of amenities in the city, and without necessarily accusing him of falsification or suppression of fact, we can safely assume that he is painting as black a picture as he can. Alternatively, it might be argued that to start *Mary Barton* with such a scene (assuming it to be accurate) is to strike a wrong note in a novel designed to arouse the public conscience to the existence of great social wrongs. In point of fact, however, the scene is important both to the construction and to the emotional values of the novel. The shift from Green Heys Fields to the neighbourhood of Barker Street (where Alice Wilson lives) is at once the epitome of the shift of environment which the Alice Wilsons of Manchester have suffered, and the measure of the negligible hopes of escape from Manchester which the next generation, the Mary Bartons, possess. But setting artistic effects aside, would Mrs. Gaskell, we may ask again, have begun her novel with a palpable inaccuracy, above all one which suggests some slight amelioration at least in the lot of the Manchester slum-dweller? Would it not be more reasonable to expect (their objects being the same) that she would paint the blacks into her picture with a brush as unswerving as that employed by Dr. Kay? As Babbitt said, 'these reform cranks always exaggerate'.

Faced with this discrepancy, then, it is gratifying to be able to report that Mrs. Gaskell can be justified at the expense of the more scientific Dr. Kay, and that the value of literary evidence to the social historian who is concerned with what Dr. Eileen Power once called 'reaching beyond accuracy to truth' can, in this case at least, be shown to be considerable. The evidence is as follows.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kay's words will be found in J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Age of the Chartists* (London, 1930), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> I must thank Mr. Norman Dees, B.A., of King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, for gathering or suggesting the sources of much of the information that follows in the next paragraph.

It may be admitted in the first place that Dr. Kay's remarks concerning holidays are reasonably correct. The evidence presented in the chapter entitled 'The New Towns' in *Early Victorian England*,<sup>1</sup> suggests that regular holidays were not a feature of the thirties. (In this connexion, however, an interesting, if unprovable, speculation suggests itself. If the opening scene of *Mary Barton* is c. 1837-8, and if it is founded on an actual recollection of Mrs. Gaskell's, might it not be connected with the accession and coronation of Queen Victoria?) Regarding facilities for recreation, however, Dr. Kay can be shown to be exaggerating on the gloomy side. In Professor Redford's *History of Local Government in Manchester*<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kay's words will be found to be preceded by other contemporary evidence that is less pessimistic. Green Heys (or Greenheys) is near the Moss Side districts of Manchester, about half an hour's walk from the centre of the city. But Manchester's initial expansion was northwards, in the opposite direction from Green Heys, and it is therefore likely that this area was still largely rural in the 1830's. Moreover, it would seem that the drive to enclose land did not entirely restrict freedom of movement in those areas that remained rural. A survey of the Ancoats district (which is two miles nearer the city than Green Heys), published in 1945 by the Manchester University Settlement, offers this evidence: 'Some of the older inhabitants will tell of crossing the Medlock by plank bridge to play in the fields on the other side, or of games in Hilkirk Woods.' This brings the survival of readily accessible country well up into the late nineteenth century. Finally, in the novel *The Manchester Man* (1876), by Mrs. G. Linnaeus Banks, which deals with a period from the close of the eighteenth century to the middle thirties of the nineteenth, there is a reference to gathering flowers on the banks of the Irwell (which flows west and south of the city) after 1830. And of the Irwell it has been said,

From . . . that corner in Manchester-Salford at the junction of the Irwell and the Irk where Engels in 1844 saw 'the most horrible dwellings which he had ever yet beheld', two and a half miles up a gentle hill brought you to the sand and heather of Kersal Moor, where there was horse-racing at Whitsuntide until 1846. . . . Not more than a mile and a half upstream from that foul corner, the little bourgeois of the forties thought the river bathing was excellent. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In sum, all this suggests that the opening scene of *Mary Barton* gives an accurate picture of one of the more innocent recreations of the Manchester operative of the 1830's.

D. S. BLAND

<sup>1</sup> *Early Victorian England*, ed. G. M. Young (Oxford, 1934), i.

<sup>2</sup> A. Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester* (London, 1939-40). Dr. Kay's evidence will be found in vol. ii, pp. 215-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Victorian England*, i. 227.

## REVIEWS

**The Good Wife taught her Daughter. The Good Wyfe wold a Pylgrymage. The Thewis of Gud Women.** Edited by TAUNO F. MUSTANOJA. Pp. 259. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kirjapainon Oy. 1948. [No price given.]

Editors of Middle English texts, especially of a popular religious kind, are confronted by great obstacles. Their subject may be of minor importance, but it must be set against a centuries-old background of culture and teaching, commonplace enough in the Middle Ages, but needing special annotation to-day. And, unless they are uncommonly lucky, such editors are, moreover, baffled by multiplicity of manuscripts, and by problems of date, authorship, and locality.

The editor of these three short poems is no exception. A bibliography of nearly three hundred books and a hundred manuscripts indicates the range of his investigations. The mass of textual difficulties he encountered is illustrated by the length of the section on the relationship and language of the different manuscripts in the introduction—more than a third of the whole. As for the rest of the introduction enumerating different treatises of parental instruction: that ranges from Ptah-Hotep (5,000 years dead) to Polonius.

This edition clearly distinguishes three short poems which literary historians have hitherto tended to confuse. The main justification for the labour it involved must be sought in the importance of the texts themselves. It must be admitted that these simple, straightforward, and sometimes very trite sets of verses, have a significance not immediately obvious. They offer a pattern of middle-class womanhood which is a corrective to the idea drawn from the unconvincing perfection of the flawless ladies of courtly literature on the one hand, and the female devil-incarnate of clerical diatribe on the other. Herein is the earliest extant instruction for a lay-woman written down in English, and one of the earliest works in Europe addressed particularly to a middle-class woman. The editor's treatment of the subject-matter is interesting and sympathetic, but one wonders what the glaziers of the All Hallows church window at York would have thought if they had known that their representation of St. Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin would be used on the title-page of poems about deportment in street and tavern ('ȝif þou be ofte drunke it fallet þe to schame').

Whatever their intrinsic merits these poems have value for the historian of the social and domestic life of the time, supplementing and corroborating the pictures drawn in *Piers Plowman*, Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, and much sermon literature. In a series of readable notes which are devoted chiefly to the subject-matter, the editor directs attention to references to pastimes and customs of Gothic England. He corrects, for example, the former erroneous interpretation of 'scheting ate cok' (*Good Wife*, l. 59): 'throwing sticks and stones at a cock fastened to a post', by illustrations from the early fourteenth-century Royal MS. 2 B VII, where, in a picture meant to represent one of the popular sports, archers are quite clearly shooting arrows.

This is the first critical edition of these poems, and all the extant versions of



each are printed either in the main body of the work or in the Appendix. This treatment is, perhaps, unnecessarily prolix, where a closer collation would considerably reduce the length of the volume and the tediousness of reading it. Two of the six versions have not been printed before, and the one of these, which in the section on the relative authority of the different manuscripts is demonstrated to be the best, is at least three-quarters of a century earlier than the earliest printed text.

The weakest part of this edition is the treatment of the language. This is due in part to paucity of material, but more, one feels, to the arrangement. The lengthy language sections are at once diffuse and scrappy, lacking proportion and consistency. There are twelve separate sections, seven for the *Good Wife taught her Daughter* alone, where one concentrated comparison would have been more effective and convincing. Moreover, the statements tend to be descriptive rather than critical (e.g. *sulle* is noted as a rhyme to *felle*, but without explanation). Too much is expected of the reader. Absence of explanation leads to vagueness, and it is sometimes impossible to perceive the logical development of thought. The description is untechnical (e.g. the 'typical northern disappearance of *z* in *dee*'). Avoidance of reference to sound changes leads sometimes to ambiguity, sometimes to inaccuracy (e.g. 'the appearance of *o* for O.E. *a* in bold—characteristic of the West Midlands'). In searching for dialectal forms Professor Mustanoja does not take sufficient account of the late date. In some sections he concludes for locality on the flimsiest of evidence (e.g. for the central west Midlands, p. 134).

PHYLLIS HODGSON

**The French Bandello: A Selection.** The original text of four of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* translated by Geoffrey Fenton and William Painter. Anno 1567. Edited with an Introduction by FRANK S. Hook. Pp. 185. (University of Missouri Studies XXII. 1). Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1948. \$2.50.

This is a straightforward piece of work and may be useful. It contains the texts of four of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* used as sources by Elizabethan dramatists, with a long introduction on Belleforest and the debt that Elizabethan followers of Bandello owed to him.

François de Belleforest (1530–85) was a litterateur of little importance whose original works have been—justly, it seems—forgotten. Of his many translations we remember only the *Histoires Tragiques*, a collection in seven volumes of tales taken for the most part from the century's most famous collection of Italian *novelle*, Matteo Bandello's. That Elizabethan storytellers and dramatists used Bandello is of course well known, and it is equally well known that in many cases Belleforest served as intermediary. But Mr. Hook is certainly right when he says that our direct knowledge of Belleforest and his role in this international transaction is vague and that he remains in the shadow for us.

Bandello suffered many changes before reaching Elizabethan readers. Mr. Hook indicates what they were. Belleforest himself was far from being a literal translator. He adds to and expands his original, and his moral and religious



preoccupations do not permit him to leave Bandello's 'amoral' tone unaltered (this characterization of Bandello is Mr. Hook's and it might perhaps be questioned). Mr. Hook discusses in some detail the versions of Belleforest's translations given by Geoffrey Fenton in his *Tragicall Discourses* (1567) and by William Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure* (1566-7). If Belleforest's versions were not literal renderings of his source, neither are Fenton's literal renderings of Belleforest—'seldom is there found a word for word translation'. Fenton was interested in 'style', and in his hands the already far from simple French prose becomes laboured and euphuistic; he seeks to add vivid and convincing detail, descriptive and narrative; he amplifies Belleforest's moral sentiments, or adds reflections of his own, chiefly about love and marriage: Mr. Hook finds throughout Fenton's work 'a deep strain of Puritanism'. When Painter went to Belleforest he did so from choice rather than need, because he also translates directly from the Italian. Painter, however, preferred to follow his source carefully and literally; there are few interpolations, few signs of dominating interests that lead him to change the flavour of his original.

The four stories that Mr. Hook has chosen to print appear in Bandello, Belleforest, Fenton and Painter and in various places in Elizabethan and Jacobean writing. He traces their histories briefly. The first can be called that of the 'Dumb Knight' from the title of the play by Markham and Machin (1613) for which it furnishes a sub-plot. The second is that of Ginevra and Don Diego who retired into solitude after being deceived by a slander about her; Whetstone used this story and the minor poet Richard Lynche. The third is the story of Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, and was used by Whetstone too. The fourth is the story of the two noble families which seems to have been the source of the Mountford-Acton plot in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*.

Mr. Hook wishes to see further studies of the process whereby literary motifs were transmitted and changed in this period. Certainly this kind of work is interesting—even if in unskilful hands it runs the risk of providing little more than a series of plot synopses. Questions arise that are perhaps more complicated than Mr. Hook allows for. Should he not have asked, for instance, whether his first story, that in which a lover has to remain dumb for a period in order to win his lady, was not a folk tale before Bandello took it up; and whether this would not account for its appearance in Elizabethan literature without, apparently, the benefit of Bandello or Belleforest.

D. J. GORDON

**Shakespeare and Sir Philip Sidney. The Influence of 'The Defense of Poesy'.** By ALWIN THALER. Pp. xii+100. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948. \$2.50; 14s. net.

The author of this study seeks to prove that Shakespeare had read Sidney's treatise and that its critical precepts influenced both his conception and his practice of poetry. None of the minute verbal connexions alleged by Mr. Thaler convinces us of Shakespeare's debt to Sidney, as such resemblances convince us of his debt, for example, to North's Plutarch. On the other hand, the suggested connexions between Sidney's critical ideas and the passing judgements on poetry

discoverable in the plays are too general and indefinite to satisfy the demands of Mr. Thaler's method. If a relationship between the two authors could be established by such more or less mechanical methods, it would certainly have been set forth long ago by one of the many scholars who have worked on these lines. Yet the failure to prove a relationship need not prevent us from assuming that one existed. It would be remarkable if Shakespeare had not read Sidney's treatise, and it would be remarkable if his notions of poetry had not something in common with those of an author noted less for originality than for the freshness he brings to the commonplaces of the century.

The book is a product of misapplied industry. Mr. Thaler seems to be unable to think confidently without the support of what he considers scientific evidence. Thus he points out that Professor N. I. White's 'recent research' has confirmed, what another American scholar had conjectured, that Shelley knew Sidney's treatise. But surely even only a moderate knowledge of Shelley's intellectual 'formation', his love and admiration for the great Elizabethans, and the likely range of his reading, should have enabled us to assume his acquaintance with Sidney's work. In this case confirmation was easy to find. In the case of Shakespeare and Sidney it eludes our search; and an attempted demonstration by minute analysis, if it fails, in such cases serves only to leave us practically doubtful of something of which we had been morally certain.

Mr. Thaler should have admitted that the 'scientific' evidence is inconclusive and cast his book in the form of a critical essay. For the close comparison he makes between Sidney's precepts and Shakespeare's 'examples' is interesting in itself. It shows that Shakespeare conceived no new theory of poetry, however magnificently novel his practice might often be. He was content to accept the general Renaissance idea of poetry, and if he himself transcended this idea in practice it was because he was led by his circumstances, gifts, and instinct, not because he consciously inaugurated a profounder type of poetic creation.

F. T. PRINCE

**The Bad Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet': a bibliographical and textual study.** By HARRY R. HOPPE. Pp. ix+230. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1948. \$3.00.

In July 1938 Professor Hoppe contributed to this journal (xiv. 271-84) an important article in which he argued that the bad first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) was a memorial report by an actor or actors who had lately appeared in a shortened version of the play, and at an earlier date in one of the unabridged text. His object was to account for certain peculiar features of the report. This proves, on comparison with the good quarto (1599), to be in parts reasonably, and at times even remarkably, accurate; but at points it shows definite gaps, and here and there it substitutes for the true text a widely divergent one written in manifestly un-Shakespearian verse. The inference is that the reporter was aware of the imperfect nature of the version of which he had recent knowledge, but that when he tried to supplement this by recollection of the full text, his memory yielded no more than an outline of the dialogue, which he was forced to refashion

in language of his own. In support of this theory it was pointed out that the reporter is proved to have had knowledge of the passages he omitted by the fact that recollections of omitted lines have on several occasions contaminated others that were retained.

One hoped that in his present book Hoppe would be able to develop this ingenious hypothesis somewhat further, but he has not apparently discovered any fresh evidence, and in dealing with the un-Shakespearian passages he is for the most part content to repeat or merely to refer to what he wrote ten years ago. He does indeed speculate on the possible roles taken by the reporter or reporters, and he concludes that the bad text could have been most easily put together by the actors of Romeo and Paris working together. This conjecture is satisfactory up to a point, but it does not help to explain the breakdown in the reporting of the last two acts, in which the parts in question appear to be no better rendered than the rest. Deterioration of the text as a play proceeds is admittedly a common feature of bad quartos; and it has been suggested that actors tend to remember the earlier parts of a play better than the later, and that a reporter is likely to grow weary of the task of reconstruction. But these explanations are not wholly satisfying, and while the phenomenon has to be accepted, one would have welcomed further discussion of the cause. I am not sure that Hoppe has sufficiently considered the possibility of the prompter having acted as reporter, though I do not pretend that this offers any solution of the difficulty in question.

The first chapter of the book deals with 'The Printing of the First Quarto' and follows in detail the intricacies of Danter's not very happy career. It is fully documented; and not only are the two sections of the quarto, signatures A-D and E-K respectively, carefully distinguished, but in the second a seemingly successful attempt is made to separate the work of two compositors working for the most part in alternate stints of four pages. The discrimination follows the principles laid down by Charlton Hinman in an article in *The Library* of June 1940 (xxi. 78-94), which has not, I think, generally received the attention it deserves. These bibliographical matters, however, have little bearing on the textual problem.

The second chapter reviews the various theories that have been suggested to account for the character of the bad quarto—the early-draft theory, the shorthand theory, and the memorial report theory. The first is now out of fashion, though M. R. Ridley propounded a rather fanciful version of it in the *New Temple Shakespeare*. The shorthand theory has been mainly popular in Germany and America, and still has its supporters; but rather than attempt a formal refutation, Hoppe wisely concentrates on presenting the positive case in favour of memorial reconstruction. This occupies his two central chapters. It is, indeed, already mostly familiar ground to students, but it is important as well as convenient to have the complete evidence presented in available form, even though it may not be marshalled quite as clearly and convincingly as might be. A valuable feature is the frequent use of illustrations drawn from other bad quartos both within and without the Shakespearian canon.

The last chapter is devoted to 'The Reporters of *Romeo and Juliet*', and a

final section inquires into 'The Reporters' Company'. Hoppe does not pretend that the theory he here advances is anything but speculation, but in a closing paragraph he goes so far as to write: 'Until entirely new evidence arises to confute us, we may presume that the bad text of *Romeo and Juliet* was constructed by members of the 1597 Pembroke's who had recently deserted the Chamberlain's company.' The starting-point of this presumption is the fact that Danter was printing the bad quarto just at the time that Pembroke's men were negotiating with Langley for the tenancy of the Swan. Frankly, I do not think that this affords any basis for fruitful speculation. There are, of course, records of two Pembroke's companies about this time, one in the early nineties, and one constituted or reconstituted in the spring of 1597, and the connexion between them is doubtful. The earlier, which may have been an offshoot of the Admiral-Strange's amalgamation, probably acted some of Shakespeare's earliest plays; but it is unlikely that it continued to do so after it broke in the summer of 1593, or that *Romeo and Juliet* was written early enough to have been in their repertory. This Hoppe, I think, admits. As to the later company, there is no real evidence that any of its members had ever been the Lord Chamberlain's men—I am not forgetting the conjectural identification of Spencer and Jeffes with the Gabriel and Humphrey of 3 *Henry VI*. Nor, if they were, is it likely that they would have chosen the moment of joining a promising organization to sell a piracy to the press. Still less likely is the alternative suggestion that the report was vamped up as a contribution to Pembroke's company's repertory. It is impossible to believe that a version such as that of the bad quarto was intended for performance on the London stage, and if it had been so intended it would not have been sold to Danter. It might have come into his hands after the scandal of *The Isle of Dogs* had shattered the fortunes of the company, but that was not till July, and Hoppe has shown that the quarto must have been printed in February or March, when the company's prospects were at their height. I cannot but think that in this section of his valuable work Hoppe's speculations are a little irresponsible.

W. W. GREG

**Shakespeare's Producing Hand.** By RICHARD FLATTER. Pp. ix+184.  
London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1948. 12s. 6d. net.

Dr. Flatter's study is full of admirable observation and most instructive detail; it is the work of one who has studied his author long and lovingly. Some of his larger conclusions, however, are so contrary to what is at present established doctrine and call for so much criticism before they can be accepted or rejected that final judgement on them must be delayed. While, therefore, one feels that Mr. Coghill's praise in his Introduction to the book is as justified as it is courageous, one cannot but pause when he says:

It has long been thought, and to a large extent established, that the text of the First Folio of 1623 and the 'Good' Quartos of Shakespeare was probably printed from Shakespeare's autograph now lost.

This is a great deal more than Dr. Greg in *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* ventures to tell us, and for every addition to the claims made by Dr. Greg we

shall need good evidence. Mr. Coghill is here, however, only following Dr. Flatter in adopting too summary a manner in his classification of the texts, for Dr. Flatter's sub-title runs *A Study of his Marks of Expression to be found in the First Folio*, and this begs some very important questions about the relation of the First Folio texts and those of the Quartos.

The Quarto (1622) of *Othello* is, according to Dr. Flatter, a text touched up by a prosodically minded man—one of Shakespeare's first editors: the Folio is the genuine text. To illustrate this judgement Dr. Flatter quotes from the Folio v. ii. 215 ff.:

Oh Heauen! oh heauenly Powres!

*Iago.* Come, hold your peace.

*Emil.* 'Twill out, 'twill out. I peace?

No, I will speake as liberall as the North. . . .

The editor of the Quarto has changed this to

O God, O heauenly God.

*Iag.* Zounds, hold your peace.

*Em.* 'Twill out, 'twill: I hold my peace sir, no,

I'll be in speaking, liberall as the ayre. . . .

But all, if one may say so, are agreed that the difference in the oaths is due not to a Quarto but to a Folio editor. And will Dr. Flatter question Dr. Greg's conclusion that it was the sophisticating editor of the Folio who in the lines

that belike, *Iago*, in the nicke  
Came in, and satisfied him

reads 'interim' for 'nicke'? It is no use saying here, as Dr. Flatter does elsewhere in discussing *Hamlet*, 'Why not stick to what the Folio says?' Dr. Flatter may be right in preferring the Folio reading in certain respects at this particular place, but sweeping generalizations are obviously inadmissible on the evidence. The Folio and Quarto texts cannot both come directly from Shakespeare's manuscript; we cannot, when the texts are clearly at odds, have it both ways, as Mr. Coghill's somewhat loose wording seems to suggest, and when, as with the *Hamlet* texts, the consensus of informed opinion regards the good quarto as printed from Shakespeare's manuscript, the onus of proof is on those who think otherwise.

On the other hand, nothing could be more convincing than Dr. Flatter's analysis of how and when the Ghost should make its first entry—no wonder Mr. Coghill, a connoisseur in such matters, is an enthusiastic admirer of such production notes. It is the textual conclusion, however, that is questionable. *Hamlet* Q2 reads:

The bell then beating one.

*Enter Ghost.*

*Mar.* Peace, breake thee of, looke where it comes againe.

The Folio arranges it differently:

The Bell then beating one.

*Mar.* Peace, breake thee off:

*Enter the Ghost.*

Looke where it comes againe.

Most editors adopt the Quarto arrangement, on which Dr. Flatter comments:

If ever there was a line that must not be broken off it is 'The bell then beating one' (despite Bernardo's being told to 'break off'). A pause after 'The bell then beating one' is impossible. The passage ought to be arranged like this:

The bell then beating one—

Mar.

Peace, break thee off!

(Enter the Ghost.)

Look where it comes again.

Bern. In the same figure, like the king that's dead.

In this arrangement we have a pause after: 'Look where it comes again'—and there the pause is placed where, from the producer's point of view, a pause is indispensable.

And Dr. Flatter concludes that Shakespeare indicated this to the actors by his line-division and the placing of the entry where it stands in the Folio text. The answer, however, to his question, 'Why not stick to what the Folio says?' must be that, if we stick to the Folio here, we do so because Dr. Flatter's admirable interpretation has vindicated the Folio arrangement at this point, not because we are convinced we have in the Folio a text straight from Shakespeare's own hand. The question whether the Folio text gets it right by accident inevitably suggests itself, as does the further question whether Shakespeare did indeed record his intentions in such a notation.

Dr. Flatter's argument, it must be admitted, is most persuasive. Editors and scholars have always hankered after a text of Shakespeare as regular in its arrangements as, say, that of *Paradise Lost*; their ideal has been a poetic rather than a dramatic one. This was the ideal of scholar-poets like Ben Jonson. If a character spoke half a line, the line had to be completed even by a character that had not heard the first half. Not so the mature Shakespeare: (i) his characters when they enter do not complete half-lines they cannot have heard; (ii) asides are not carried on by characters that do not overhear them; (iii) pauses demanded by the action are not filled out for the sake of the metrical scheme, so that what are regarded as incomplete lines are part of the dramatist's technique. Again Shakespeare's verse admits of a variety, unknown to Jonson or Milton, in its pauses and manipulation of the stress. Some peculiarities are discussed under the heading 'Simultaneousness', and perhaps one may draw Dr. Flatter's attention to a stage-direction, if he does not know it already, in *Sir John Oldcastle*, i. i. where Davy and Owen protest against their arrest: it reads *Both at once at this* and indicates that the speakers were not to keep strict time and distance. Dr. Flatter rounds off this section by a chapter on Line-Division in which he demonstrates how editors in their zeal for a poetical have maligned a dramatic craftsman.

In one way this is not new: critics have long protested against what Professor Tucker Brooke has called 'the well-meant but mischievous task of levelling' by editors; but Dr. Flatter takes us much farther and indeed right to the top of the bean-stalk and to a prospect where values are so transvalued that the 'artists' now seem mechanicals when compared with the man who wanted art.

All this seems too good not to be true, but, unless it is to remain a kind of fairy-



tale, it must be clearly written in the text. Dr. Flatter's views will modify and in their turn be modified by what we think of the text; there will be action and reaction.

Taking the action first—Dr. Flatter passes brilliantly to the attack in his criticism of the text of *Macbeth*:

I do not believe in the 'corruptedness' of the text of *Macbeth*. On the contrary, I think that the text of this play has preserved more of its author's peculiarities of writing than any other play, the reason being that it has been less interfered with.

Early criticism was severe on *Macbeth*: Pope degraded much of it to his footnotes as spurious; subsequent critics have restored it piece by piece to Shakespeare, and now Dr. Flatter would give him all. And indeed it will be hard to deny to Shakespeare the much-disputed speech of the Bleeding Sergeant after Dr. Flatter's very convincing analysis of 'the craftsmanship with which the Captain's exhaustion is characterized by his manner of speaking'.

The text will, however, in its turn react on Dr. Flatter's theories. It is not difficult to find patches even in *Macbeth* that do not seem to square with his rules; and when Dr. Flatter passes in a final section to deal with the punctuation—the point of which, according to Mr. Coghill, no one has fully seen before—it becomes obvious how exhausted he is to counter-attack.

Dr. Flatter comments on the punctuation of *Othello* (Folio), I. i. 40:

Now Sir, be iudge your selfe,  
Whether I in any iust terme am Affin'd  
To loue the Moore?

But the Quarto reads:

Now sir be iudge your selfe,  
Whether I, in any just tearme am assign'd  
to loue the Moore.

Both punctuations cannot be Shakespeare's, and those who feel that the Quarto comma after 'I' has a special significance may here exclaim against Dr. Flatter, as he elsewhere exclaims against others, for omitting so invaluable a hint. Or again at I. iii. 68 the Quarto and Folio read respectively:

You shall your selfe, read in the bitter letter,  
You shall your selfe read, in the bitter letter,

Which will we attribute to Shakespeare? Or at II. i. 220:

first I will tell thee, this *Desdemona* is directly in loue with him.

The Folio, however, punctuates for the grammatical sense:

First, I must tell thee this: *Desdemona*, is directly in loue with him.

for, of course, both passages mean the same thing; it is only the systems of punctuation that differ—but which is Shakespeare's?

But one does not need to take instances from a text where there is a Folio and Quarto version to show that Dr. Flatter's views still leave much to wonder at;



and it is difficult to see how his comments explain, say, *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. iv. 6 ff.:

When perforce he could not  
But pay me tearmes of Honour: cold and sickly  
He vented them most narrow measure; lent me,  
When the best hint was giuen him: he not look't,  
Or did it from his teeth.

And *Antony and Cleopatra* is one of the Folio texts that is very probably from Shakespeare's manuscript. So far Dr. Flatter has merely commented casually on odd snatches of punctuation; but any views on this matter that claim credence must take account of the various styles of punctuation found in the Folio, and of the differences between that of the Quarto and Folio texts. So far Dr. Flatter shows no real awareness of this necessity. Further, if this is necessary in dealing with the punctuation, it is also necessary in handling the other features of the text.

If the producer is going to study Shakespeare's producing hand, he must try to distinguish between the texts that come directly from Shakespeare's own hand and those that come from the pen of Ralph Crane or of other scribes. The producer prepared to face the exertion of traversing such difficult ground will find in Dr. Flatter's work an invaluable stimulus: to swallow Dr. Flatter without such preliminary exertion is to indulge in a dangerous stimulant under the influence of which we may feel like the lady in Molière who declares:

*Ce quoi qu'on die en dit beaucoup plus qu'il ne semble.*  
*Je ne sais pas, pour moi, si chacun me ressemble;*  
*Mais j'entends là-dessous un million de mots.*

Dr. Flatter himself is as modest as he is sensible in the presentation of his argument. It is a by-product of his creative work as a translator of Shakespeare, and it seems to have drawn a kind of life from that vital process. Dr. Flatter has injected something new and invigorating into the stream of thought on Shakespeare's text, and it remains for further observation and research to calculate the dosage that will obtain the best reaction.

PETER ALEXANDER

**Shakespeare Survey: An Annual Survey of Shakespearean Study and Production. I.** Edited by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Pp. x+144. Cambridge: University Press, 1948. 12s. 6d. net.

This new *Shakespeare Survey* aims at being catholic in scope and appeal. It is sponsored by three official bodies, carries an advisory committee of nine scholars, and represents, through its panel of correspondents, some twenty-seven countries. This being so, the result might easily have been a kind of disjointed scrapbook had not the editorial board wisely decided that each volume should be devoted to some single aspect of Shakespeare. In consequence, the 1948 survey is concerned with Shakespeare as a man of the theatre, and offers a retrospective survey of twentieth-century standpoints together with a number of more or less relevant original articles. The volume ends with notices of recent London and

Stratford productions, an international commentary, and reviews of the year's contributions to Shakespeare studies.

In general, the original contributions to this survey settle one question but raise a host of others. This, however, is common enough in Shakespearian studies and the articles here presented do yield an impression of confident authority and of ampler evidence held in reserve. Thus Professor Dover Wilson detects important evidence from the 'Peacham' drawing about the staging of *Titus Andronicus*, but one hesitates to pronounce judgement until Wilson's projected edition of the play makes available the full body of his findings. For the present it suffices to say that his theory that *Titus* did not come into existence before 1593 abhors from reason, unless, of course, he dissociates Shakespeare from the play. However, he promises grounds for his belief. Presumably Mr. Shapiro's important and well-documented study of early engravings of the Bankside theatres, with its conclusion that the Swan, the Beorgarden, and the second Globe were circular, and that Hollar's 'Long View' provides reliable pictures of the last two, is, likewise, part of a broader plan.

Two notable American contributions also suggest work in progress. Professor G. E. Bentley reaffirms Shakespeare's professional interests and conscience and then points to the acquisition of the Blackfriars Theatre by the King's Men in 1608 as a landmark. Not only were Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher induced to write for this indoor theatre, but Shakespeare 'turned from his old and tested methods, and produced a new kind of play for the new theatre and audience'. This neat and inherently probable hypothesis merits detailed treatment. Comparison of the so-called romances with the comedies will not suffice. It will have to be shown that Bentley's theory supplies the critical differential for *Henry the Eighth*. One may hazard the guess that once that is done the romances will be found to be old wine in new bottles. Professor Hardin Craig's refreshing paper on 'Shakespeare's Bad Poetry' ends with the ideas, 'worthy of further elaboration', that some of Shakespeare's poetry is adjudged bad because 'it is less painstakingly composed according to the poetics of the Renaissance than is his greater verse', some because he 'consciously varied his style to accord with special situations' and posterity has not approved of the results. Posterity, however, would be well advised to define, in something better than general terms, those qualities peculiar to Shakespeare's good verse. In other words, we still await a critic who is capable of building on the sure foundations laid by Keats.

The dialogue between Mr. Hilton Edwards and Mr. Micheál MacLiammóir presents a plea for the apron stage which will find many sympathizers, but here, as in this volume's various notes on recent productions, there is rather too much emphasis on the actor's contribution. Actors, at most, add salt to the Shakespearian banquet. Let them be well used, by all means, but the best in this kind are but shadows. One hopes that they, and their producers, too, will find food for thought in Mr. Rylands's critical commentaries.

It is regrettable that this book is printed on rather poor paper, and still more regrettable that the excellent illustrations are presented in three groups instead of accompanying the text. The reader who wishes to work carefully through Mr. Shapiro's paper will find this picture-chase fatiguing, especially when he

is called on to make a careful comparison between two maps, one on the recto, the other on the verso, of a single leaf. Most regrettable of all is the English in which some of the contributors attempt to express themselves. The editor should certainly reserve the right to amend the communications of his foreign correspondents. But they, alas, are not the only offenders.

'Frescobaldi's' (p. 95) should read 'Frescobaldi's'. The application of the term 'languorous gaiety' to his music seems rather odd.

J. M. NOSWORTHY

**Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery. Volume II. A Bibliography of Emblem Books.** By MARIO PRAZ. Pp. xii+209. London: The Warburg Institute, 1947. £2. (American price £2. 10s.)

This bibliography, or as Professor Praz prefers to call it, catalogue of emblem books, completes his *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, the first volume of which was published in 1939, and embodies results of research begun much earlier. The task of gathering together the material for this undertaking must have been exceptionally formidable, for the literature it includes is vast and confused, and little help was to be gained from previous bibliographers; moreover, since the taste for emblem books was not confined to Italy where it originated, its monuments now lie buried in all the countries of Europe to which it spread. To make his list Professor Praz had to consult the great national libraries and the catalogues and sales-catalogues of numerous private collections as well. The unexpected resurrection of interest in the subject among Victorian book-collectors has here proved of some value, as Professor Praz's list of sources indicates. The result is a bibliography which will be indispensable to any student who sets off to explore any part of the emblematic wilderness.

The first merit of the *Studies* as a whole is, perhaps, that the view of literature from which it springs is cosmopolitan. The culture of the Renaissance was European, not national, and the English emblems, like English clothes and the English language, were a hodgepodge of ideas copied from foreign models and naturalized in the wearing. Professor Praz's learning is also European and he can enter the field of comparative literature without a bias in favour of the English share. For those whose business is with English literature this is not only sobering: it is also, at least so far as this particular subject is concerned, instructive. For it is only when we see how much was borrowed or derived that we can see also the converse: a couple of Jesuit emblem books becoming strangely Protestant in the hands of Francis Quarles, or George Wither reshaping his Dutch source with the vigorous impatience of continental subtleties that is characteristic of Englishmen at all times. The great interest of a work of this kind is that it shows us what we took from an exceptionally cosmopolitan type of literature and what we did with it, and illustrates in literary terms the advantages of what later came to be called the Grand Tour.

The information given in the bibliography will enable detailed work to be done on particular writers or kinds of emblem. In it are listed all the texts known to the author, together with the places in which they may be found: particularly

valuable here are the references to the various libraries in Rome where, under Jesuit influence, a large number of emblem books have accumulated. Annotations give the facts about later editions, sources, translations, and the illustrations. Professor Praz also provides a select list of the emblematic devices used at triumphal entries, funerals, and other public ceremonies, which, though primarily interesting to students of the history of art, help to emphasize the pictorial aspect of the fashion that literary studies cannot neglect. The index of Artists has the same advantage. There is no index of Authors, but as the bibliography is arranged alphabetically and translations are usually entered with a cross-reference to their original, this is hardly necessary. However, the cross-referencing is not quite complete: if a reader did not know, for instance, that Christopher Harvey derived his emblem book from van Haeften's *Schola Cordis*, he would be unable to find it; and if one wished to assess the influence of the Jesuit Hermann Hugo's book on emblem literature in England, one would learn that Edmund Arwaker translated it but not that Quarles based his *Emblemes* on it too. These things, however, may be discovered from reading Volume I, which the bibliography was designed to complement.

This is a bibliography to work from. How far it achieves complete reliability as a work of reference, only the research which it makes possible will show. In the parts concerning the English emblem books I have noticed a few errors which I list below for the sake of accuracy.

1. The 'John Bunyan, the engraver' who figures in the index of Artists and in the bibliography itself is, in fact, the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The correct titles and dates of the various editions of his emblem book are given in F. M. Harrison's *Bibliography of Bunyan's works*. Professor Praz merely records some late reprints made after the title had been changed to *Divine Emblems*.
2. Christopher Harvey, the author of *The Synagogue* and of the English version of *Schola Cordis*, is not to be confused with Thomas Harvey, the translator of certain Italian and Latin poets. The confusion arose from a mistake by Anthony à Wood, but Izaak Walton, who was a friend of Christopher's, makes it clear that Wood was merely being careless. Professor Praz (vol. i, p. 152; ii, p. 75) refers to 'Christopher (or Thomas) Harvey'.
3. The poet mentioned in vol. i, pp. 72 and 142 and vol. ii, p. 1 as Henry Aston should be Herbert Aston. No evidence was given by Professor Praz in vol. i to support his claim that Aston was the author of *Parthenia Sacra* and the translator of *The Devout Hart*, and I think that the arguments in favour of the earlier ascriptions to Henry Hawkins are stronger. The correct adjective for Solomon in the sub-title of *The Devout Hart* is 'pacifical', not the 'pacified' of the British Museum Catalogue.

ROSEMARY FREEMAN

**Crabbed Age and Youth. The Old Man and Woman in the Restoration Comedy of Manners.** By ELIZABETH MIGNON. Pp. viii+194. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1947; Cambridge: University Press, 1948. 14s. net.

Miss Mignon's object in this fresh study of Restoration Comedy is clearly and briefly stated in her Preface: 'The social pattern of this comedy has been

distinguished by previous critics. There is still need for a detailed examination of the constituents in the pattern.

'To study the old men and women of this comedy is to trace the conventions of a dramatic form through a single and highly important group.' There is, as we know only too well, a grave danger in isolating a single aspect in this sort of way; it may appear to be more important than it really is in the whole work of art, a danger of which Miss Mignon seems to be aware, for she has confined her essay to 'the old men and women of the comedy of manners as distinct from Restoration comedy in general', though it must be confessed that it might seem difficult to make anything like a clear distinction between the two forms.

This book, then, is devoted to considering the age-youth conflict in this sort of drama. There is, of course, nothing new in this age-youth relation; in comedy it goes back through Terence to the Greeks, nor is it confined to comedy in our own Shakespearian drama. This, it need hardly be said, Miss Mignon recognizes, and makes a rapid summary of, so what she has set out to do is to disengage the peculiar quality of the conflict within the comedy convention of the time. Perhaps she got a hint from Miss Kathleen Lynch, whom she quotes; where, for instance, Miss Lynch speaks of Lady Cockwood's illicit amours being 'wrecked by the pressure of a social standard which she lacks intelligence to comprehend'. Miss Mignon, however, hardly touches on the 'social mode' aspect; her analysis does not lead to anything more than a suggestion towards an explanation of why comedy should have gone through this particular phase.

The treatment of old age by the dramatists of the period, foreshadowed, indeed, by a number of comedy writers back to Jonson—a treatment in due course modified by Vanbrugh and broken away from by Farquhar—is remarkably uniform and remarkably cruel. It is here, perhaps, that this comedy is at its cruellest, though there is, as Miss Mignon agrees, just a hint of tragic pity in Congreve's treatment of Lady Wishfort. What is shown in this book, with scholarly thoroughness, is the complete rift between the young, that is, women up to twenty and men up to twenty-five, and the old. There are not, as Miss Mignon says, seven or four ages of man in this comedy, but only two. In play after play, as we are shown, one of the main jokes is the sight of the old trying to play the social-sexual game in the same way as the young, not understanding that the game can be played only in extreme youth.

The case is thoroughly made, and one more dramatic convention has been dissected out, a convention so well understood, as Miss Mignon ingeniously discovers, that certain actors and actresses, notably Doggett and the Leighs, specialized in ridiculous senile parts, a very significant fact. To recognize the convention enables us to discard (with discretion) what is common form from an author's individual contribution to the sense of life of the time. The investigation is beautifully and cleanly carried out; the notes and references to the supporting quotations are ample and accurate; the index is full and useful.

Where the book a little unfortunately stops short is in trying to attach any social meaning to the convention; conventions do not arise haphazard. Why did a social pressure exist which Lady Cockwood did not understand? The immediate solution which presents itself is one which Miss Mignon touches upon lightly,

and which anyone would guess at who remembers what happened after the first World War, and is perhaps happening again now. Social change takes place rapidly in certain circumstances, a change which youth is more quick to notice than crabbéd age. In 1919 a flood of young people returned from abroad; to these, a slightly older generation seemed to dwell in a world of fantastically old-fashioned values, especially where sexual behaviour was concerned. Such changes constitute a minor social revolution, and such a change must have occurred far more violently in 1660 than in our own day. There is always, as we know, a tendency in the young to fail to see with the same eyes as their parents: Sir Peter Osborne did not look upon young William Temple as a suitable *parti* for his daughter; Sir William Penn was not unnaturally annoyed at his son's odd goings-on: but here we have something different; the accident of date has nothing to do with those two instances. Was it the post-war atmosphere that was the cause of this persistent note in the comedy? Or was it no more, perhaps, than a somewhat hypertrophied convention? Or is there, possibly, something lacking in the analysis? Is it merely that Lady Cockwood and her like failed to understand the social game, or is it that all the old fools in these plays are funny only because they are pretentious? It is the business of comedy—a part of its business at least—to mock at all unjustified pretension; the old should not pretend to be young. There is nothing funny in old age that is not pretentious, as Farquhar was aware; or at least no comic capital is to be made out of it. Of course Miss Mignon has a perfect right to say that she was not discoursing of social modes, nor of comedy in general, and can claim that she has carried out her task of disengaging an aspect of the dramatic convention of the time. But if she had tackled the further question, what is undoubtedly a good and pleasantly written book might have been a very good book indeed.

BONAMY DOBRÉE

**First follow Nature. Primitivism in English Poetry 1725-1750.** By

MARGARET M. FITZGERALD. Pp. xii+270. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948. \$3.00; 16s. net.

Miss Fitzgerald's book has the one great merit of showing that this period is much more complex than we are usually disposed to believe. There are three parts to her book. The first is a study of what most people have in mind when they talk of Primitivism. It discusses the poetic expression accorded to such themes as the golden age, the pleasures of country life, and the noble savage. The second section of the book is concerned with the concept of Nature and discusses the various meanings assigned to it in ethical, aesthetic, metaphysical, and artistic contexts. This part of the book is a valuable conspectus of the ideas that formed the background of literature at this time. It covers many of the topics, such as the Great Chain of Being, Optimism, Taste, &c., that have become part of recent inquiry into the eighteenth century. Miss Fitzgerald's industry and enthusiasm have led her not only to the well-known poets, but to a sifting of the periodicals and miscellanies, and to the vast output of minor poets who have long since been sunk in a deserved oblivion.



Miss Fitzgerald would rightly argue that these preliminary inquiries are necessary for an understanding of the times and for a proper evaluation of the more important writers. It is a pity, however, that the last part of her book, which is specifically concerned with drawing conclusions about such writers as Pope, Thomson, Young, Akenside, Gray, and the Wartons, should be limited to a dozen pages. The book gives interesting and valuable corroboration to the view that at this time it was not the voice of rationalism, or even of Locke's empiricism, that gave the trumpet call to poetry. Great as was the influence of the 'new way of ideas', poets looked elsewhere for assurance. They looked to a universe that was an emanation of God, descending in a great chain from the Godhead to the lowest order of being. They looked to a nature that did not work with mechanical precision, but included wild, terrible, and irregular elements. They turned to a view of man that saw him as naturally good and needing no checks upon his expansive instincts.

Miss Fitzgerald distinguishes between Pope, who 'stood for the regular and neo-classical strains in primitivism' and Collins, Gray, and the Wartons, who 'represented the irregular and pre-romantic elements'. In between were Thomson, Akenside, and Young. Is it true, however, that Pope 'found the universal machine good . . . rejoicing in its perfect balance of parts'? Certainly his verse, in its regard for form, clarity, and succinctness, might be said to be neo-classical. But throughout his life Pope was suspicious of science and its picture of a machine-universe. The harmony he celebrates in Epistle III of the *Essay on Man* is an organic and not a mechanical one. In writing about early eighteenth-century literature one should remember that 'neo-classical' and 'romantic' are not always reliable sign-posts in this country-side, though they may be useful co-ordinates for a small-scale map.

R. L. BRETT

**Studies in the Literary Backgrounds of English Radicalism, with special references to the French Revolution.** By M. RAY ADAMS. Pp. vii+330 (Franklin and Marshall College Studies, No. 5). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Franklin and Marshall College, 1947. \$3.75.

The background which Mr. Adams re-illuminates very pertinaciously has so far receded from us as to be pretty well out of sight. In fact, the choice of authors depends largely, as we are told, on the degree of their neglect. How far it was worth while rescuing them—if indeed rescue is possible—must be a matter of opinion. For those who have to make acquaintance with these very minor personalities Mr. Adams provides some lucid essays supported by a bibliography which is claimed, with reason, to provide guidance for a complete study of the literary influences of the French Revolution in England.

Mr. Adams writes as a perfervid admirer of the Revolution, and in an introductory chapter gives a general view of its reactions upon the republican groups in England. The essays which follow are very loosely related to this theme. Between Joel Barlow who opens the series and Samuel Parr who ends it there is a wide gulf. The one, an American adventurer in Paris during the Revolution,



was in active contact with English republicans. The other was a comfortable schoolmaster and divine with a general admixture of liberal ideas. The intervening chapters bring together even stranger diversities. There are Mary Hays, who 'in her blind discipleship innocently reduced many of Godwin's philosophical maxims to absurdities', 'Perdita' Robinson, Robert Lovell, and George Burnett, minor adherents of Pantisocracy, Joseph Fawcett, Sir James Mackintosh, and George Dyer.

Each author is carefully analysed and aptly quoted, often far too aptly for Mr. Adams's purpose. For when he claims that these well-meaning persons are undeservedly neglected, it is impossible to follow him. Their thought was almost always derivative and very much diluted, and their literary ability of the most tenuous kind. Their poetry often recalls the *Ode to an Expiring Frog*, and their prose that pretentious rhetoric which Dickens was equally fond of exposing. Mr. Adams, though not devoid of humour, takes his authors too seriously, and in spite of his protests we still get a juster view of Dyer and Parr from the livelier pens of Lamb and De Quincey, while not even putting Coleridge in the box will convince us that Mrs. Robinson deserved better of mankind by the mawkish outpourings of her staid years.

D. M. Low

**The Theology of William Blake.** By J. G. DAVIES. Pp. viii+167. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948. 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Davies is a careful and vigilant reader of Blake, and sticks to his subject with a restraint unusual in Blake's critics. He leaves the symbolism alone, very sensibly, and all other aspects of Blake which are not his concern. Sometimes this is carried to excess—Blake's identification of Christianity with art, for instance, is mentioned only in passing—but on the whole his book gains from its omissions. He first relates Blake to the Church of his day, and does so with great clarity, though he is reluctant to press the point that Blake regarded corruption as inseparable from a visible and corporeal church. He then studies Blake's relation to and divergence from Swedenborg, in the most coherent study of this important question I know, in which he makes several points, such as the connexion of *The Book of Thel* with Swedenborg's doctrine of function, of great help to Blake's students. This is followed by a general consideration of Blake's mysticism, in which it is regrettable that he did not make more use of, say, Otto's *Mysticism East and West*, which deals with Blake's kind of mysticism more directly than von Hügel or Underhill do. On the other hand, he quotes very aptly from Berdyaev.

In dealing with Blake's cyclic myth, the author says, 'theology must always start, not from God nor from man, but from the God-man'. One wishes that he had started his commentary at the same point, and not written a chapter on an alleged 'Doctrine of God' in Blake. The remaining chapters, dealing respectively with the Fall and Creation myths, the redemption of man by Christ, Blake's doctrine of man, and his ethical ideas, are on far more solid ground. An interesting note on Blake's use of dialectic and a clear and accurate explana-

tion of the relation of law to gospel in Blake's thought are among the best things here. On the debit side, the assertion that Blake thought of unfallen man as androgynous seems to me untenable in view of Blake's use of the term 'hermaphroditic' to describe Satan. I feel, too, that Blake had more concrete ideas about the resurrection of the body than Mr. Davies attributes to him.

Mr. Davies writes throughout from the standpoint of a liberal and catholic churchman who finds Blake essentially though on some points dubiously orthodox. This is quite justifiable, yet some of the inner vitality of Blake is lost by so external an approach. He regrets that 'Blake was not a more obedient son of the Church', but if he had been he would not have been Blake. On the other hand, those who know best how bad some critics of Blake can be on the subject of theology will be most grateful to Mr. Davies for not falsifying Blake's meaning. It is possible to find critics who will deny that Blake believed in original sin, or who will treat him as an antinomian on one page, as a pietist on another, and as a Gnostic on a third. Mr. Davies's incisive study makes it unnecessary for the bewildered reader of Blake to trust to such blind guides.

NORTHROP FRYE

**The Romantic Comedy.** By D. G. JAMES. Pp. xi+276. London: Oxford University Press, 1948. 18s. net.

Professor James adapts his title from the *Divina Commedia* and divides his book into 'The Gospel of Hell', 'Purgatory Blind', and 'The Gospel of Heaven'. He aims at tracing the development of English romanticism from the Gospel of Hell (Blake) through Purgatory Blind (Shelley and Keats) to the Gospel of Heaven (Coleridge's last philosophic phase and Newman). Wordsworth appears from time to time as a sort of English Vergil to Professor James's Dante. The objection to this scheme is obvious. Blake is in no sense representative and, though Shelley and Keats are certainly at the centre of English romanticism, there is no convincing reason for supposing that, had they lived, they would have developed into old Mr. Coleridge or young Mr. Newman. It is, however, with 'mythology' or 'divine story' that the author is most concerned. He works from 'Blake's free myth-making to Shelley's and Keats's adaptation of Greek mythology, and thence to Coleridge's and Newman's acceptance of Christian "story" and of the authority that goes along with it'. On these matters he has much of interest and importance to say.

He is least satisfactory on Blake. It is unfortunate that, as explained in a note, the book was finished in 1940. Much valuable work has been done on Blake since then. His refusal to call Blake at any time a Christian might have been mitigated by reading Frye's *Fearful Symmetry* or Davies's *Theology of William Blake*. Whatever may be said for such a view during the Lambeth period, it seems inconsistent with much of what we know of Blake from Felpham onwards. In any case Professor James errs (p. 6) in attributing to Blake the words 'gospel of Hell'. Blake does, at the end of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, say 'I have also the Bible of Hell', but Mr. Frye has made clear Blake's ironic use of

the word 'Hell'. *M.H.H.* would be better understood if 'Hell', 'Heaven', 'Devil', 'Angel' were printed throughout in quotation marks—what you call 'Hell', &c. The work is mainly satire which, like Defoe's *Shortest Way* and Swift's *Modest Proposal*, has been taken too literally.

Professor James complains that Blake fails in communication, which is true, but one must remember three things: (1) that Blake was primarily a pictorial, not a literary, artist, and criticism confined to his words must be deficient; (2) that his idiosyncratic thought compelled a private language (Chesterton's *Browning*, E.M.L., pp. 38, 39 is relevant); (3) that his aim was expression rather than communication. Nor does the complaint that Blake created confusion by mixing, adding to, and altering existing myths carry us far. Blake was not borrowing odd bits of myths for his own purposes. He thought that, in their present form, they were 'stolen and perverted' accounts of the early world. He wanted to recreate the originals and rewrite them not as myth but as history. Nevertheless, much of Professor James's analysis of Blake and his methods is acute and stimulating.

The words 'Purgatory blind' come from Keats's *Epistle to Reynolds*. Professor James explains how Shelley and Keats turned to Greek mythology to avoid Christian story or purely human allegory, but Greek mythology could not contain what they wanted to use it for—their conception of man. *Prometheus Unbound* is ruined and saved by Demogorgon, who is un-Greek. In the first *Hyperion* narrative and contemplation, story and symbol, myth and meaning clash with and annul each other. That, not the Miltonism, was why Keats abandoned it. The second *Hyperion*, in attempting to solve the difficulties of the first, created new ones. In fact the 'unacknowledged Christianity' of Shelley and Keats 'shattered their antique myths'. Their Purgatory was 'blind': therefore they often longed for death (*Alastor*, *Ode to a Nightingale*, &c.) to deliver them from ignorance.

'The Gospel of Heaven' is the longest section and has two chapters, 'Knowledge and Faith' and 'Protestant and Catholic'. The romantics, it is argued, were passionate and serious and were bound ultimately to perceive the depth and scope of Christianity, and the religion of Coleridge and Newman 'is properly intelligible only when seen in relation to the previous history of Romanticism'. Though Coleridge's philosophy derived from Kant and Newman's from Hume, they were united (with some differences of terminology) in their doctrine of reason, imagination, and understanding, which are concerned with religion and issue in symbol. Symbol is part of the truth it explains. In Christianity symbol is also event. So Christian 'mythology' is history. Coleridge and Newman, however, differed in temperament and emphasis. Newman preferred history, Coleridge metaphysics. Coleridge was always a Protestant. He laid emphasis on the Atonement, Newman on the Incarnation. Coleridge was Gothic, Newman Romanesque.

In such brief indication, it cannot be called summary, of the last two sections of the book justice cannot be done to the immense amount of matter they contain nor to their careful argumentation and illustration. The whole book is full and rather difficult—sometimes in a severe, blackboard style, sometimes warming

at the central fires. One small factual error should be corrected. Keats died not in his twenty-seventh year (p. 147) but in his twenty-sixth.

H. M. MARGOLIOUTH

**Keats and the Daemon King.** By WERNER W. BEYER. Pp. xiv+414. New York: Oxford University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947. \$4.00; 18s. net.

It has long been known that Wieland's romantic narrative poem *Oberon*, in the translation by William Sotheby (1798), was more or less familiar to Keats and contributed something not only to one or two of his earlier poems but to *The Eve of St. Agnes* and the late *Cap and Bells*. No one, however, had faced the strenuous task of attempting to discover whether the few and comparatively unimportant borrowings hitherto recorded had exhausted the tale of Keats's indebtedness. Mr. Beyer, taking up the challenge, has spared nothing that energy and enthusiasm could furnish, and after 'years of literary detective work' (to quote the dust-cover) has satisfied himself that he has discovered 'a major source . . . which repeatedly guided the imaginative processes of Keats's mind'.

Unfortunately, like so many source-hunters, Mr. Beyer lacks discrimination, and will, I think, leave most readers unconvinced. This is a pity; for up to a point he may be right in claiming that Sotheby's rather pinchbeck translation was more widely read and admired in the early part of the nineteenth century than has generally been recognized. Not only such lesser lights as Southey, but Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats pretty certainly read it and may have owed something to it. The question is, of course, what and how much? To the present writer, at any rate, it appears that in respect to Keats the answer must still be: a little, but only a little.

Even when on the fairly safe ground of the early group of pieces associated with Keats's intimacy with G. F. Mathew, Mr. Beyer is unable to resist the temptation to special pleading. No one will deny that in 1815 the young friends had been reading Sotheby together, and that the details about Oberon and Titania in Keats's verses 'On Receiving a Curious Shell' and in Mathew's even more boyish reply 'To a Poetical Friend' must be in part allusions to Wieland's 'Daemon King' and his Queen. But Mr. Beyer goes so far as to hint that at this date Keats had not read *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, though his peculiar use of 'canopy' almost certainly derives from 'overcanopied with luscious woodbine' in Shakespeare's play. And though Keats's reference to Oberon's 'languishing' because Titania 'cruelly left him to sorrow' seems to point to Wieland, since in his poem, as Colvin put it, 'the fairy king and queen are divided by a quarrel far deeper and more durable than in Shakespeare's play', the matter is not quite so simple. In the passage in Sotheby cited as a parallel by Mr. Beyer it is Huon and not Oberon who reposes beneath a tent (though this is, admittedly, the 'work of the fairy king's enchantment'); and elsewhere in Sotheby we hear far more of Titania's 'languishing' than of Oberon's. I am not convinced, then, either that Keats was ignorant of Shakespeare's play at this date or that he ever drew the clear distinction between the Oberon and Titania of Shakespeare and of Wieland

which certainly exists (the German Oberon, in particular, is a more dignified and even didactic figure than Shakespeare's), and which would, if satisfactorily established, have lent support to the large claims put forward when we come to consider Keats's more mature work.

Large claims they certainly are. Not only are innumerable alleged parallels both of actual phrasing and of sequences or 'clusters' of imagery adduced, but the very setting or scenery of many passages in *Endymion*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, and *Lamia* is traced to *Oberon*. We are asked to believe, moreover, that as early as *Sleep and Poetry* Keats had 'identified himself' (whatever that may mean) with the hermit Alfonso who appears in Cantos VIII and IX of *Oberon*, and that in consequence the meaning or message of *Endymion*, of *Lamia*, and even in some degree of *The Eve of St. Agnes* and the great odes, is to be found mainly in a quite conscious taking-over by Keats of the lessons of patience and sexual self-restraint taught to Huon and his Eastern bride Rezia by the hermit. A few quotations will make clear the extravagance of Mr. Beyer's claims and conclusions:

The hermit is the vital principle of *Endymion*. His influence extended into all of its body: into the organic function or symbolic meaning of the incidents and into the incidents themselves (p. 131). . . . [In *The Eve of St. Agnes*] As he wrote Keats was conscious, from first to last, that he was being guided by *Oberon* (p. 155). . . . 'Love in a hut' [*Lamia*, II. l. 1] is a clear allusion to the spiritualizing hermitage in *Oberon*, where Huon felled wood to build his royal bride a hut (p. 198). . . . During the feverish year 1819 Keats's absorption in Wieland's romance bore its richest fruit. Besides its vital connexion with the genesis first of *The Eve of St. Agnes* and then of *Lamia*, *Oberon* left its traces next in three poems written within a few days of one another, *The Song of Four Fairies*, *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, and the first of the great odes, *To Psyche* (p. 242).

Space forbids any systematic refutation of even a single one of these claims; nor, perhaps, is it necessary. One or two further queries on points of detail may suffice to reassure anyone who feels alarmed at the thought that scholars of the calibre of Colvin and Mr. Ridley (to name no others) could have almost completely ignored such a major source of Keats's inspiration.

We may grant that the first line of *Endymion*, Book II, 'O sovereign power of love! O grief! O balm!' may be an echo of Sotheby's 'O love! thou only balm of every woe', though whether it was a conscious one may be in some doubt. But what are we to think of such a 'parallel' as the famous 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever' beside Sotheby's 'The fountain of his joy for ever fails', where there is not even syntactical similarity, let alone any resemblance of sentiment or situation? There are literally hundreds of such bogus parallels scattered through the book. Almost every reference to crags or rocks is traced to Titania's island in *Oberon*; the 'elfin grot' of *La Belle Dame* and the 'mossy cavern' of the *Lines on the Mermaid Tavern* are both said to be recollections of the cave where Rezia bears her child; and this same childbirth scene is even made responsible for the 'thoughts, new grown with pleasant pain' in the *Ode to Psyche*. 'There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth . . . and there is salmons in both.'

The curious mixture of acute and obtuse in Mr. Beyer's book is well illustrated by his handling of *La Belle Dame*. He makes the interesting and, I believe, novel suggestion (p. 247) that the knight's dream may be a reminiscence of the Baron's dream of 'many a woe' in the last stanza of Keats's own *Eve of St. Agnes*. But his attempt to connect the 'faery's child' in *La Belle Dame* with both Titania and the lustful Queen Almansaris of *Oberon* seems to me quite illusory, particularly in view of J. L. Lowes's convincing demonstration that the Paolo and Francesca episode in Cary's translation of Dante's *Inferno* must be reckoned a main influence in the composition not only of *La Belle Dame* but also of the sonnet 'As Hermes once' and the *Song of Four Fairies*, all of them written within a single fortnight in April 1819.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Beyer's chief contention has not, then, been made good, though he deserves the credit of having added a few instances of verbal echoes (probably unconscious) from Sotheby to those previously noted by Colvin and Mr. Ridley; the chief are 'visions of delight' (*Eve of St. Agnes*, stanza vi) and 'airy texture' (*Lamia*, II, l. 19), besides that in *Endymion* already mentioned. But so far from *Oberon* having been 'a major source' for Keats, it was, I feel sure, only after a long interval, during which all his best poetry was written, that he looked a second time into the German romance which as a youth of nineteen he had read with (or possibly to) his friend Mathew. This conclusion seems to follow inevitably from the flimsiness of the case for any substantial indebtedness to *Oberon* after, at latest, *Sleep and Poetry* (1816), until with the unlucky *Cap and Bells* we reach the very end of his effective career as a poet.

R. W. KING

**Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review.** By JAMES A. GREIG. Pp. xii+326. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1948. 21s. net.

This book is not a life of Jeffrey, but an attempt to explain his position as a reviewer. It is unfortunately overburdened with other people's opinions which are generally accessible enough. Mr. Greig wishes to demonstrate that Jeffrey's ability has generally been recognized, but no one will deny this; and his quotations from writers of very different capacities and judgement were not essential to his theme. He is also inclined to wander from his main argument. The supposed necessity of inserting a chapter on the 'background' (now almost universal in books on English literature) leads him into a good deal of irrelevancy. We are not helped to understand Jeffrey's attitude to Wordsworth by being told that Dr. Johnson found the streets of Aberdeen 'spacious and clean'. To say this is not to show ingratitude for much diligence and information; but the book would have been more effective if it had been shorter and more coherent. No man who risks giving his opinion on contemporary writers, and turns out, in the end, to have been so often in the wrong as was Jeffrey ever recovers his reputation. Mr. Greig makes a case for Jeffrey's opinions, but to some extent on inadequate grounds. 'Jeffrey saw danger', he says, 'in writers who, in the political realm

<sup>1</sup> *T.L.S.*, 3 May 1934. I do not know whether this valuable note has yet been made available in a more readily accessible form.



substituted emotionalism for careful and responsible thinking.' Such a view needs careful application to poetry. Indeed Jeffrey belonged to the eighteenth century, and the poetry of 'the Lakers' could not appeal to him. Moreover, he was at times flippant in manner, and was quite able to say things in a telling way, as in his famous criticism of *The Excursion*. He failed to realize that his attitude disqualified him from judging many of the writers whom he criticized. But, as Mr. Greig remarks, 'Jeffrey's criticism of Wordsworth sprang not from complete inability to perceive the power there was in Wordsworth's writing, but in part at any rate from a recognition of that power'. Of course, Mr. Greig discusses Jeffrey's attitude to other poets than Wordsworth. It may be said, in short, that Mr. Greig has many interesting things to say, but the reader will have to search for them.

HUGH MACDONALD

**Der Einfluss der deutschen Literatur auf die englische im 19. Jahrhundert.** By WALTER F. SCHIRMER. Pp. ix+165. Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1947. RM. 7.

Professor Schirmer begins his book on the influence of German literature upon the literature of England in the nineteenth century with a clear definition of his aims. He rejects the preoccupation of other scholars in the field with artistic influences and decides to concentrate on influences in the realm of ideas. He then divides his century into three periods: 1788-1813, from Henry Mackenzie's lecture on German drama to Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*; 1813-32, from *De l'Allemagne* to Carlyle's last literary essay on Goethe; and 1832-90, from Goethe's death to the fading of a clear-cut impression of Germany in the last three decades of the century.

The first period is seen as essentially that of the sensational (*Werther* and the *Robbers*) and the merely fashionable (Kotzebue). That does not prevent Professor Schirmer from giving a sound and varied description of men and tendencies. Especially admirable is his short analysis of Scott's debt to Germany and German literature (pp. 18-19).

It is with the second period that Professor Schirmer, thanks to his special approach, really warms to his subject. Here he stresses first the importance of *De l'Allemagne* in concentrating English attention on the classical age of German literature. He then underlines the debt of English literary criticism to A. W. Schlegel's Vienna lectures on the history of the drama, 'to which no nineteenth-century English book on Shakespeare or the drama fails to refer' (p. 51). His main interest is, however, in Carlyle, first as an interpreter of Goethe, then of Kant and Schiller. Professor Schirmer follows Carré in stressing above everything else Carlyle's onesidedness in seeing Goethe not as the creative artist or the scientist, but almost exclusively as the moralist and guide to an outlook on life. On the other hand, Professor Schirmer makes much of Carlyle's ability to see and appreciate German culture as a whole, which prevented for a considerable time the relapse into eclecticism that was the ultimate fate of English appreciation of things German in the second half of the century.

The examination of the third period shows the progress of this relapse, a sad



story whose gloom is relieved by the shafts of light cast on the development of men like Kingsley, F. D. Maurice, and Froude.

A short outline such as I have given cannot of course do justice to the innumerable interesting facts and critical judgements that Professor Schirmer's book contains. William Taylor of Norwich, Byron, Lewes, George Eliot, Disraeli, Lord Lytton, and many others are shown in their indebtedness or lack of indebtedness to German influences. There are, moreover, specially interesting sections on such different subjects as Walter Pater's English equivalents of Goethe's aesthetic vocabulary and the inspiration from Germany that played so great a part in the foundation of University College, London.

Considering the great interest of Professor Schirmer's book, which ought certainly to be translated into English so that it can attain the full influence it deserves to exert as a work of reference, it is perhaps ungrateful to criticize details. A more carefully formulated title would, however, have saved from disappointment readers whose main interest is in the development of artistic form. One misses too an appreciation of the translators, Catherine and Susanna Winkworth, whose work did much to make German religious verse and religious thought familiar in nineteenth-century England; the omission is the more striking as they belonged to the faithful band whose interest in Germany survived the Franco-Prussian War. Further, William Edmonstone Aytoun, whose debt to Uhland and Wilhelm Müller of Dessau went beyond the purely formal, deserves more than a share of a footnote. Finally, there are occasional slips in English spelling and usage like 'Dugald Steward' (p. 15 footnote), 'Kinkardine' (p. 34), and 'Rev. Cornish' (p. 106). These are, however, too infrequent to interfere with the English reader's enjoyment of an informative, well-written, and well-documented study.

DUNCAN M. MENNIE

**Arthurian Torso, containing the Posthumous Fragment of 'The Figure of Arthur'.** By CHARLES WILLIAMS, and a Commentary on the Arthurian Poems of Charles Williams by C. S. LEWIS. Pp. vi+200. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1948. 12s. 6d. net.

Among the papers left after his death by Charles Williams, Mr. C. S. Lewis discovered a group of essays intended by the author as the ground-work for a volume on the history of 'The Matter of Britain'. These essays take up the first half of *Arthurian Torso*; in the second half Mr. Lewis gives a searching commentary on Williams's Arthurian poems, which will be of help to those who feel that these poems, in spite of much unnecessary obscurity, contain passages of great imaginative and rhythmic power. The reason for much of their obscurity lies perhaps in the fact that Williams hoped to express, through the medium of 'The Matter of Britain', certain universal spiritual problems, requiring for their expression a more unified myth than the heterogeneous traditions and stories about Arthur and the Grail. For even Malory, the chief inspiration of Williams, never unified his sources; the Round Table, the Grail, the Dolorous Blow, the Passing of Arthur, the love of Guenevere and Lancelot—all these impinge on each other at various times without ever forming an artistic whole. The reason is clearly that

in so many of these stories there survived ideas and attitudes from pre-Christian times, especially of Celtic origin, preserving a good deal of their original force, and that no medieval poet, except possibly Wolfram von Eschenbach, succeeded in completely fusing these ideas with Christian and courtly attitudes.

The failure of Williams to realize this bewildering complexity of the forces behind 'The Matter of Britain' unfortunately invalidates his attempted outline of the history of Arthurian Romance in the essays printed in the first half of *Arthurian Torso*. Such an attempt demanded two things in particular: a first-hand knowledge of the French originals, and a patient and unprejudiced sifting of the work of such scholars as R. S. Loomis, A. C. L. Brown, W. Nitze, Burdach, and others. In both these requirements Williams fails completely. His chapter 'The Coming of Love' contains the misleading statement that Chrétien wrote a poem called *Perlesvaux* (p. 47). That this is not a slip of the pen for *Perceval* is made clear by a later statement which points out that Loholt, the son of Arthur, 'was killed off in Chrétien's own later poem, *Perlesvaux*' (p. 53). In fact, the *Perlesvaux* was written about twenty years after Chrétien's death, and its Augustinian spirit is worlds apart from that of Chrétien's *Perceval*. In a later chapter Williams refers to the *Perlesvaux*, this time without attributing it to Chrétien, but making it abundantly clear that W. Nitze's great edition of this prose-romance (it is not a poem, as Williams implies), which relates the *Perlesvaux* to general medieval thought, was unknown to him. Instead he indulges in such pointless generalizations as saying that the medievalism of the author of *Perlesvaux* is of the 'usual mannered and slightly picturesque kind common to that period' (p. 74), when in fact many incidents, and indeed the general structure of the work, show the author to have been an artist of outstanding originality. But Williams's pre-occupation with a spurious unity in the development of the Arthurian legend at the expense of its actual diversity leads him to pre-judge undecided questions of scholarship, as when he says that 'Marie de France . . . is generally identified with Marie, Countess of Champagne' (p. 46), a somewhat startling disclosure. Nor is it satisfactory to explain the abduction of Guenevere by saying that 'the poets and romancers could think of very little else for her to do or be' (p. 53), when every Arthurian scholar realizes the survival of the mythological implications of these abduction stories in medieval romance.

Williams's treatment of the subject of the Grail suffers from more serious limitations. To dismiss the complex problem of the Celtic origins of the Grail in Chrétien in two lines, to omit any discussion of the possible Byzantine origins of much of the Grail ritual, to disregard the work of authors like Étienne Gilson and Albert Pauphilet on the theological implications of the Grail-Quest—all this leads the reader to one conclusion: that Williams was neither able nor willing to write a scholarly work on the Matter of Britain, because of his attempt to make the complex facts of medieval thought fit a preconceived pattern. Unfortunately, the publication of the first part of *Arthurian Torso* will not only discredit the memory of an accomplished poet, because of its utter disregard for research and its lack of the most elementary principles of scholarship, but also it will tend to mislead the general reader and non-specialist student alike.

JOHN E. HOUSMAN

**English Studies 1948.** Being volume one of the new series of essays and studies collected for the English Association by F. P. WILSON. Pp. vi+126. London: John Murray, 1948. 8s. 6d. net.

The familiar green cover has gone. The title has been changed—not too happily, since it clashes with that of the old-established Dutch periodical. Why not 'English Association Studies' if the old title is thought too clumsy?

The volume opens with a brilliantly proportioned essay by Mr. J. I. M. Stewart on 'The Integrity of Hardy'. After skating neatly round Mr. Eliot and pointing out how the case of Hardy just fails to be a 'case' ('Hardy's morbidity . . . was not uncontrolled and disintegrative, as in 'he writers of the decadence'), Mr. Stewart establishes an equilibrium: Hardy was 'a humanist, not a sub-humanist . . . a humanist . . . constitutionally more aware of the liabilities than of the assets of humanism'. Mr. Stewart goes on to show how Hardy extends his conception of the unmoral universe to include the individual human being: in this latter region it is difficult to disentangle a 'planted' malevolence (which Hardy denied reading into life) from the effects of 'regardlessness', and Mr. Stewart does not quite succeed in doing it. One suspects, indeed, that there is a certain ambiguity in Hardy, rather of the kind that Mr. Edmund Wilson ascribes to Henry James, an ambiguity which Mr. Stewart, naturally enough, is not anxious to stress in an apologia.

Miss Helen Gardner's thesis in 'Milton's "Satan" and the Theme of Damnation in Elizabethan Tragedy' is that the degeneration of Satan 'from hero to snake' is paralleled by that of Faustus, Macbeth, and Beatrice (in *The Changeling*). Miss Gardner finds in her quartet of damned souls an inability to repent coupled with an unceasing consciousness that what they do is a perpetual offence to what they are (p. 55); the egoism of the tragic hero (Macbeth complaining that he has no friends, Satan preferring to reign in Hell) makes him a 'comic character' in Mr. C. S. Lewis's sense (*A Preface to Paradise Lost*, p. 100). One may agree that Miss Gardner establishes certain analogies—and in relating Satan to his dramatic precedents she has obviously done something important—but remain quite unconvinced that Satan is a tragic figure of the same kind as Shakespeare's or Middleton's. Miss Gardner's personalization of Satan is a sign of what Mr. Lawrence Durrell likes to call our egopetal age: she insists that Satan is 'conceived and presented to us as a tragic figure' (p. 61), that 'he is a Macbeth' (p. 66). It is not to be believed that Milton thought thus of the progenitor of Sin and Death. As the archetypal evildoer Satan may well behave at times like an untitled tyrant or a woman dipp'd in blood, because even Satan's evil proceeds from a Fall and because Milton is engaged, like Raphael, in 'lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms'. But Satan, the shape-changer, perched like a vulture on the Tree of Life, is Loki, Balor, anything but Macbeth. Unless we are deliberately seeking for the ego, as Miss Gardner is, Satan is clearly defined in the early part of the poem as our enemy and Adam's—an Iago, not, *pace* Miss Gardner, an Othello, though again something far other than Iago: the evil principle by which Iago lives Satan *is*—which is perhaps one reason why Milton turned from tragedy to Christian epic.

Professor G. I. Duthie's contribution on 'The Dramatic Structure of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine the Great" Parts I and II' is really an account of the relationship between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate in the double play, and of Tamburlaine's defeat by Death and his eventual 'victory' over Death in Part II. In an essay so much concerned with Tamburlaine's character it is strange to find no mention of the views of writers like Battenhouse, Kocher, and D. C. Allen. Professor Duthie throws no fresh light on the problem of how far a modern formula like that expressed in the phrase 'coherent dramatic structure' is really applicable to the study of Marlowe: 'I claim that Acts IV and V of Part I are thoroughly dramatic. There is a working-up to a psychological crisis—the crisis involves suspense—there is a solution of the crisis—and so the play comes to a dramatically satisfying conclusion' (p. 109). Does Professor Duthie really believe that Marlowe planned his play in terms of these jejune modernisms? Duthie's disregard of Marlowe's probable way of thinking is carried further in his peopling of the play with shadowy personifications-become-protagonists like 'Pity', 'Beauty', and 'Death'. These allow the essayist a large interpretative scope, but seem strangely irrelevant in the light of less shop-worn analyses of what the play is about. Professor Duthie has a right deliberately to delimit the subject of his paper, but it is doubtful if he was wise to arouse our expectations with his title. He does not discuss the evidence for the skill with which Marlowe has avoided the danger of monotony inherent in his theme by carefully differentiating the various incidents in a way that contributes to dramatic coherence. Part I, for example, is full of internal relationships that bind the play's structure together and make it a positive achievement in play-making: Professor Duthie shows that the Zenocrate-Tamburlaine relationship is one of these. It is to be hoped that he will go further and demonstrate more fully the coherence of this badly misunderstood work.

The article most likely to be of lasting value in this volume is Sir Maurice Powicke's paper on William Camden. Mr. J. A. W. Bennett's essay on 'Hickes's "Thesaurus": a Study in Oxford Book Production' will interest bibliographers and students of the history of learning. In 'Satire on Literary Themes and Modes in Nashe's "Unfortunate Traveller"' Miss Agnes M. C. Latham argues convincingly that Nashe was not only burlesquing courtly and scholarly themes but that throughout the novel he was making war upon 'the vice of seriousness'.

PETER URE

**The Poetic Image.** By C. DAY LEWIS. Pp. 157. London: Jonathan Cape, 1947. 8s. 6d. net.

The first difficulty that meets a reviewer of this book is the desire to quote all of it; and the second is contained in this, for, like poetry itself, Mr. Lewis's work is impossible to render down without essential loss. Every page is alive with that alert, perceptive keenness of ear and vision that we experience in the conversation of poets. Yet it is also sage and profound criticism, coherent and shapely in the main lines of its arguments. Once again it is our privilege to hear a poet speak of poetry, and once again, as in the work of a long line of English poets, we

recognize that, in the last resort, such speech is the privilege of poets only. For they remind us that the reading of poetry, and the discussion of it, must be approached in the same spirit of imaginative collection, of concentration and self-dedication, as the writing of poetry itself. This book commends itself, then, to those who have long entertained a suspicion that few should be allowed to write on poetry and none on the poetic process who have not themselves experienced that process.

The reader, thus, accompanied by Mr. Lewis, 'enters that state of grace we call poetry'. And poetry is a road to truth, 'because it operates upon us to cause the kind of pleasure which, in the Kantian sense, is a furtherance of life' (p. 27). And of the essence of this process, serving most fully 'this sense of the furtherance of life which we call poetic truth', is the poetic image. For the image is itself by its form and by its function a significant part of the evidence of order or pattern in the universe: 'every image is animistic, a postulating of spiritual order beneath the material' (p. 106). 'Imagination is the instrument with which the poet explores the pattern of reality, and . . . the images in his poetry are high lights by which he reveals to us these patterns' (p. 105).

In the first chapter the author discusses certain things which are fundamental to a right and reverent understanding of the function of poetry (and of metaphor, the essence of that poetry), 'which reveals the truth and makes it acceptable to us' (p. 34). He draws a distinction between human emotion and poetic emotion, or what are sometimes called aesthetic experience and artistic experience, and proposes to trace 'the secret process by which images cause delight' (p. 23). His conclusion is that the pattern of poetry 'gives us pleasure because it satisfies the human yearning for order and for completeness'. But this pleasure would not arise unless the human mind desired to 'find order in the external world, and unless the world had an order to satisfy that desire, and unless poetry could penetrate to this order and could image it for us piece by piece' (p. 35). For, as he puts it in a later chapter, 'the image is a method of asserting or reasserting spiritual control over the universe', serving 'the poet's old business of bringing emotional order out of material and intellectual confusion' (p. 104).

The chapters that follow study in more detail particular aspects of the nature and function of imagery. The second, on the field of imagery, distinguishes symbol and image, analyses the relation of function to congruity in imagery, and indicates the change in habit through a few well-defined periods extending over four centuries of English poetry. But here, as all through the book, he cautions us against rigid doctrines, confirming the conviction that there is always an appeal open from psychology, or from criticism itself, to art. The chapter on the pattern of images opens with a passage on the poetic imagination and passes on to a description of the poetic process that reminds us, in its distinction and precision, of that given by Lascelles Abercrombie (*Towards a Theory of Art*). It is illustrated by examination of metaphors from widely different English poets, including a brief but memorable analysis of the imagery of Meredith.

The fourth chapter ('The Living Image') and the fifth ('Broken Images') add a penetrating diagnosis of some of the troubles of modern poetry, tracing them in part to the treatment of poetic imagery, the avoidance of poetic statement, the

growth of private images and symbols, and the centrifugal force of the imagery in some kinds of modern poetry, which is itself the result of the refusal of poetic logic, of that 'form whose very nature is sequence' (p. 120), which modern poetry pre-eminently needs through its refusal of passionate statement. The image is thus revealed as the last stronghold of modern poetry and almost the last means of communication in a world which has 'divorced the spiritual and the material meaning of things' (p. 134). The last chapter sums up these conclusions and puts again in another form the earlier questions on the nature of poetic truth and of our apprehension of it, on the relation of image to theme and on the poem when it is itself an image. The concluding pages here—as indeed many others in the book—are of the essence of high criticism.

Space does not allow me to speak of the imagery of Mr. Lewis's own speech, of the quality of the poetry he here brings to the service of poetry, of the living excellence of his style and the memorable phrases that themselves disclose the hitherto-unapprehended relations of things. Nor is there room—and this one more willingly relinquishes—to speak of the passages where one would perhaps venture a query or a disagreement: the inclusion of the word 'sensuous' in the definition of imagery in the first chapter (p. 22); the apparent refusal to recognize in a famous image of Marvell's (p. 72) certain implications which might claim to be the essence of the experience; the use of the term 'functional' (pp. 81-2, 87, 97, &c.) in such a way as to appear to exclude certain necessary inferences from the study of function in dramatic imagery.

But these differences are matters either of no moment or of terminology only. They have no effect on the impression made by the lucid, imaginative, poetic criticism. A single reading of this book serves only to indicate what is to be found there; at the third and the fourth the reader is still discovering its significance.

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

**A Handbook of English Grammar.** Third edition (revised). By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Pp. 378. Groningen: Wolters, 1948. F. 8.90 sewn, 9.50 boards.

This edition differs in important respects from the first (1945) and the second (1946). The opening section, on the verb, which was considerably less full in treatment than the later chapters, has been expanded to the same scale as the rest. With a number of smaller additions elsewhere, and a selective index, the new material fills 42 pages. The author explains that he designed his book to meet the need felt in Holland for a handbook of English suitable for higher education but smaller than the standard works of Kruisinga and Poutsma. Though it is therefore essentially a students' book of reference, having as its most prominent feature a detailed comparison of Dutch and English usage, original views are sometimes expressed and there is much to interest English readers.

In his classification Professor Zandvoort mainly follows tradition, but, especially in his analysis of sentence-structure, does not eschew innovation. His nomenclature includes some new terms, not all of them particularly helpful: 'local genitive' for *St. Paul's* (§ 276) is somewhat misleading, and 'irrealis' for the subjunctive in *If I were you* (§ 221) seems gratuitously unfamiliar.



The grammar is strictly descriptive, excluding historical comment. There is a good case, cogently stated by Kruisinga, for this policy in general; but rigidly applied it may sometimes puzzle students unnecessarily, when a few words of historical explanation would provide a background to apparently anomalous constructions. In *Come what may* (§ 20), *come* is classed as an infinitive, though to regard it as a subjunctive is surely both truer and easier to understand; in *work to do* (§ 25), the infinitive is called simply 'an adjunct to a preceding noun'; *to let* (§ 34) is 'a predicative phrase meaning *for hire*'; and on p. 346 a footnote states that '[*next*] is often regarded as an irregular superlative of *near*, with which, however, it has no connexion semantically, and very little phonetically'.

A few varied examples of details seem to deserve reconsideration, e.g.—

§ 172. The treatment of *shall* in certain formal contexts is hardly adequate. Of the example *It has been decided that the second reading shall not be opposed* it is untrue to say that 'normal English uses *will* or the present tense'. This sentence differs from the others quoted with it, e.g. *Do whatever shall seem good to you*.

§ 201. The accepted American *do not have* might have been mentioned, especially as § 822 begins: 'English does not have the Dutch distinction. . . .'

§ 264. The unchanged *foot* in phrases with numerals like *six foot tall* should have a place.

§§ 275 and 307. The use of the so-called 'post-genitive' is not sufficiently explained. It is limited not only 'to nouns denoting persons or domestic animals' but to nouns specifying particular individuals, and is often the only construction possible.

§ 284. Examples such as *summer's day*, *widow's weeds*, do not support the statement in the following paragraph that such groups have uneven stress. In § 779, also, *copper beech*, and in § 806 *spring-clean*, are wrongly shown with initial stress.

§ 867. *loyalist* is glossed: 'Supporter of government in Spanish civil war.' But *O.E.D.* quotes examples from 1685.

§ 868. *sadist* is now generally pronounced ['seidist] (*S.O.E.D.* 1947) or ['sædist] (Jones 1948) rather than ['sa:dist].

Appendix on irregular verbs. If *cast*, *chide*, *dwell* are to be marked as archaic, so should *gird*, *rend*, *rive*, *smite* be also. The meanings of *seethe* and *sodden* should be distinguished. If *sware* deserves a place, why not *bare*, *brake*, *drave*, *spake*? *Thrive* often has regular past forms, and so has *chide* in some modern authors.

The writing is not entirely free from jargon—'End-position of prepositions is . . . obligatory' (§ 715). And *resp.* (as ' . . . to express intensity, resp. great quantity . . .', § 249, similarly in § 563 and elsewhere) is not English.

But in so complex a book such defects are remarkable rather for their rarity. It is learned and comprehensive, and deserves the success it has had in Holland.

NORMAN DAVIS



## SHORT NOTICES

**Homer in English Criticism.** By DONALD M. FOERSTER. Pp. vi+133 (Yale Studies in English, vol. 105). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947. \$3.00; 16s. net.

Dr. Foerster gives an account of the rise of the historical view of Homer in criticism (chiefly English) from St. Evremonde to Robert Wood. The pioneer work in this line is the *Enquiry* of Thomas Blackwell, with which Dr. Foerster deals very fully. His analysis of Blackwell's influence on the Scottish critics of the mid-eighteenth century, preoccupied with comparisons of Homer and Ossian, is particularly valuable, because it throws light on the change from the neo-classical admiration of Homer to admiration in the latter half of the century for 'any poetic account of mighty actions, half historical, half fictitious . . . '.

The commentator of the present day, writing with the Homeric problem apparently settled for good, is tempted to be superior at the expense of writers before the time of Wolf, and it is to Dr. Foerster's credit that he has resisted the temptation. He is the right historical critic, who never applies the measure of one age to the opinions of another. Indeed he sometimes goes too far in this direction, as when he upbraids Mme Dacier for neglecting 'the way in which Hector's body was dragged around the city of Troy'—an incident which does not occur in Homer, though the belief that it does seems to have been strongly held by critics of this period. Nevertheless it must be said that the criticism with which Dr. Foerster deals is, if one omits Anne Dacier and Pope, of whom he says little, and despite the purple passages of Blackwell, far from lively: it would be none the worse for a few incisive comments. Of such comments Dr. Foerster, true to his role, is very sparing. Large sections of his work are a carefully woven tissue of the opinions of such writers as Blair and Kames, with only here and there a few words from Dr. Foerster to link them. Such a process requires not only omnivorous reading, but a complete assimilation of nice diversities of opinion. Dr. Foerster is completely the master of his material, but his method makes this a book for the specialist seeking guidance among matters largely indifferent, rather than for the student of broad trends of critical development.

NORMAN CALLAN

**The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works.** By SELMA GUTTMAN. Pp. xxi+168. New York: King's Crown Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947. \$2.35; 15s. net.

A sub-title explains the scope of this work. It is 'An Annotated Bibliography of the Commentary Written on this Subject between 1904 and 1940, together with Lists of Certain Translations Available to Shakespeare'. Methodical and thorough, it maintains the tradition of American scholarship. It beats sensible, clear tracks through the jungle-growths of conjecture, orthodox and unorthodox, and provides a groundwork upon which to erect theories with regard to Shakespeare's knowledge of foreign literature, including Greek and Latin, and his treatment of his sources. These perennially interesting and vexing subjects are well served by such an objective survey. The author intends the book to stimulate the student to further research, and stimulating it certainly is, for it raises innumerable and challenging problems, while at the same time it is steady, limiting possible follies in the answers. It is a work which has required considerable labour, a clear head, and a balanced judgement. It seems fair to add that it is an unselfish piece of work, for after clearing the ground and raising the game, it leaves to others the excitement of the chase.

A. M. C. LATHAM

**Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue anglaise.** Par FERNAND MOSSÉ. Pp. xvi+268. Lyon: IAC., 1947. 266 fr.

**Initiation pratique à l'anglais.** Par ANDRÉ MARTINET. Pp. 316. Lyon: IAC., 1947. 266 fr.

These neat little volumes are the beginnings of a new series called 'Les langues du monde'. Professor Mossé's work is confessedly derivative, but is a clear and concise account of the development of the English language, in which the author has succeeded in giving a great deal of information without over-burdening the ordinary reader, and which is supported by excellent and up-to-date bibliographies. Without detracting from the general high level of the work, one might mention the following points: Erse is Irish, not Scots Gaelic (p. 216): *children* is generally regarded as a double plural rather than an ordinary weak plural (p. 77): *wæd*, included in a list of words (p. 34) which have disappeared or have completely changed in meaning, survives in a specialized sense in *widow's weeds*: and to the list of place-names possibly containing 'Frisians' (p. 15) one might add Frisby and Friston, and Frizington should be omitted as uncertain. The earliest forms in writing for these 'Frisian' names, in any case, are in Domesday Book.

Professor Martinet's book presupposes no previous knowledge of English, and consists of three texts—Kipling's *Lispeth*, Katherine Mansfield's *Sixpence*, and Chesterton's *The Worst Crime in the World*—with phonetic transcripts and explanatory notes.

A. MACDONALD

## SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

By A. MACDONALD

### ARCHIVUM LINGUISTICUM

*Vol. i, Fasc. 1, 1949*

On the problem of the morpheme (C. E. Bazell), pp. 1-15.

Triangular tables for the phonemes of English (Alan S. C. Ross and J. Josephs), pp. 41-3.

### ENGLISH STUDIES

*Vol. xxx, No. 4, August 1949*

Grendel's dam and the composition of *Beowulf* (Adrien Bonjour), pp. 113-24.

*Between and Among*: an attempt at an explanation (A. Bolbjerg), pp. 124-32.

Chaucer's 'This ilke monke leet olde thynges pace' (F. Th. Visser), p. 133;

reply by A. A. Prins, pp. 133-4.

[*Cant. Tales* A 173-6; see *ibid.* xxx. 83-6.]

A sixteenth-century English Mystery fragment (Rossell Hope Robbins) pp. 134-6.

Points of modern English syntax (P. A. Erades), pp. 142-3.

*Vol. xxx, No. 5, October 1949* (Lüdeke Anniversary Number)

On the use of the attributive adjective in OE. prose and early ME. (Otto Funke), pp. 151-6.

'Ine so gode kinges londe' (S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne), pp. 157-64.

[*The Owl and the Nightingale*, l. 1095.]

On some readings in the Proverbs of Alfred (O. S. Arngart), pp. 164-74.

Are Othello and Desdemona innocent or guilty? (G. Bonnard), pp. 175-84.

Did Dr. Johnson hate Scotland and the Scottish? (Karl Brunner), pp. 184-90.

Some problems of translation in the 18th century in Germany (Edna Purdie), pp. 191-205.

[Includes translation from Addison and Milton.]

T. L. Beddoes' views on German literature (Leonard Forster), pp. 206-14.

Some characteristic symbols in Herman Melville's works (Walter Weber), pp. 217-24.

A note on impressionism in English verse (Max Wildi), pp. 225-33.

Aspects of Aldous Huxley (Geoffrey Bullough), pp. 233-43.

The Orestes theme in three plays by Eugene O'Neill, T. S. Eliot, and Jean-Paul Sartre (Rudolf Stamm), pp. 244-55.

The semantics of *Toast* (Kemp Malone), pp. 255-61.

The intonation of interrogative sentences (Maria Schubiger), pp. 262-5.

A note on 'Inorganic *For*' (R. W. Zandvoort), pp. 265-9.

#### ITALIAN STUDIES

*Vol. iv, 1949*

Ugo Foscolo and John Allen. Unpublished letters (E. R. Vincent), pp. 1-21.

[Lord Holland's secretary-librarian.]

General Paoli in England (Frances Vivian), pp. 37-56.

Mazzini's and G. B. Shaw's ideas on the function of art (Uberto Limentani), pp. 57-65.

#### MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

*Vol. xliv, No. 2, April 1949*

The *Troilus* frontispiece (Margaret Galway), pp. 161-77.

The Old English *Exhortation to Christian Living*: some textual problems (L. Whitbread), pp. 178-83.

The elegant eccentrics (M. C. Bradbrook), pp. 184-98.

[The ladies of Llangollen.]

The Fight at Finnsburg (W. A. Maynard), p. 228.

[l. 34.]

*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (P. J. Dowden), p. 229.

[l. 620.]

Three notes on Sebastian Westcott (Arthur Brown), pp. 229-32.

[See *M.L.R.*, xliii. 508-10.]

Two of Spenser's birds: nightraven and tedula (Thomas P. Harrison, Jr.), pp. 232-5.

'Ophelia's heritage': a correction (William W. Lawrence), p. 236.

[See *M.L.R.*, xliii. 410.]

Dr. Johnson and the Law lectures of Sir Robert Chambers (S. Krishnamurti), pp. 236-8.

[See *R.E.S.*, xvi. 166.]

## NEOPHILOLOGUS

31ste Jaarg., Afl. 3, 1 July 1949

- The great chain of acting (A. G. H. Bachrach), pp. 160-72.  
[Contains evidence of the art of acting in Elizabethan times.]

## NOTES AND QUERIES

Vol. xciv, No. 16, 6 August 1949

- The book of Chaucer's 'connyng' (Swen A. Larsen), p. 332.  
[Tr. and Cris. ii. 3-4.]  
Shakespeare and Dante (Kenneth Muir), p. 333.  
[Macbeth and the Inferno.]  
John Weever and England's Parnassus (J. George), pp. 333-4.  
Two notes on Marlowe's *Faustus* (J. C. Maxwell), pp. 334-5.  
*Macbeth* and *The Battle of Otterburn* (D. S. Bland), pp. 335-6.  
Milton's old Damætas (E. S. de Beer), pp. 336-7.  
A Milton ascription (G. F. Sensabaugh), p. 337.  
The *Essay on Man* and the *Essay on the Origin of Evil* (Floyd Medford), pp. 337-8.  
[Translation of the latter by Edmund Law.]  
Benjamin Stillingfleet's sonnets (Raymond D. Havens), p. 338.  
[See N. & Q. cxiii. 224.]  
The originally intended destination of Lamb's 'Confessions of a Drunkard' (John M. Turnbull), pp. 341-2.

Vol. xciv, No. 17, 20 August 1949

- The heraldry of Scott's poems (E. A. Greening Lamborn), pp. 354-5.  
Additional Florio-Shakespeare resemblances (A. D. Atkinson), pp. 356-8.  
Bacon's use of 'toy' (Jewel Wurtzbaugh), pp. 358-9.  
Swift's *Enquiry* (Irvin Ehrenpreis), p. 360.  
Isaac Bickerstaff's *Grammar* (R. H. Griffith), pp. 362-5.

Vol. xciv, No. 18, 3 September 1949

- The source of Shakespeare's interlude of Pyramus and Thisbe. A neglected poem (A. S. T. Fisher), pp. 376-9.  
[*The Silkworms, and their Flies*, by Thomas Mouffet.]  
[Continued, 17 September, pp. 400-2.]  
A possible schoolfellow of Marlowe (A. D. Atkinson), p. 379.  
[Henry Jacob.]  
Henry Stephens: a bibliographical and biographical note (Nicholas Joost), pp. 379-80.  
[Vicar of Malden, Surrey: contributed to *The Free-Thinker* (1718-21).]  
Shelley (Noel Scott), pp. 389-90.  
[See N. & Q. cxiv. 96, 258.]

Vol. xciv, No. 19, 17 September 1949

- English visitors in Switzerland (G. R. de Beer), pp. 412, 413.  
[See N. & Q. cxiv. 211-12, 233-4, 294-5; continued 1 October, pp. 426-7.]

Vol. xciv, No. 20, 1 October 1949

- A forgotten dispute of Gabriel Harvey (Raymond Chapman), p. 420.  
[The public oratorship of Cambridge in 1580-1.]

- A note on William Rankins (J. George), pp. 420-1.  
 Shylock and Philip Henslowe (Murray Bromberg), pp. 422-3.  
 Shakespeare's *Tempest*. A further emendation (Howard Parsons), p. 424.  
 [III. i. 9.]  
 Keats and Massinger (R. F. Rashbrook), pp. 424-5.  
 [*Otho and The Duke of Milan*.]  
 Arrah-na-Pogue and *Finnegans Wake* (J. S. Atherton), pp. 430-2.  
 [Influence of Dion Bouicault's play on Joyce.]  
 Santayana and Browning: a postscript (R. H. Bowers), pp. 433-4.

*Vol. cxciv, No. 21, 15 October 1949*

- Chapman in the *O.E.D.* (Berta Sturman), pp. 442-3.  
 Notes on Johnson's *Dictionary* (A. D. Atkinson), pp. 443-5.  
 Shakespeare's Sonnet 60: analogues (D. T. Starnes), p. 454.  
 [Ovid, George Buchanan.]  
 The date of two letters from Coleridge to George Dyer, 1795 (George Whalley), pp. 454-5.

*Vol. cxciv, No. 22, 29 October 1949*

- A possible explanation of a detail of 'Natural History' in *The Bestiary* (D. G. Neill), pp. 464-5.  
 Some seventeenth-century allusions to Shakespeare and Jonson (W. R. Keast), pp. 468-9.  
 The date of Donne's poem *To Mr. George Herbert* (I. A. Shapiro), pp. 473-4.  
 The personal and household bills of Edward Gibbon (Ambrose Heal), pp. 474-6.  
 Wordsworth and Prospero (J. C. Maxwell), p. 477.  
 [*The Tempest*, v. i. 33-57.]  
 The background of Crabbe's *Village* (Franklin P. Batdorf), pp. 477-8.  
 The first publication of *Ode on a Grecian Urn* (Rossiter R. Bellinger), pp. 478-9.  
 Thackeray's William Dobbin (John Robert Moore), p. 480.

*Vol. cxciv, No. 23, 12 November 1949*

- Dialect words not found in Wright's Dictionary (Frederick T. Wood), pp. 486-8.  
 Drayton at Polesworth (I. A. Shapiro), p. 496.  
 Peacock and Shelley (Chester A. Soleta), pp. 496-7.  
 [*Nightmare Abbey* and *Peter Bell the Third*.]  
 Byron's *The Island* and Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (Ernest J. Lovell, Jr.), pp. 497-9.  
 Byron's 'incomparable oil, Macassar' (Autrey Nell Wiley), pp. 499-500.  
 Keats and Thomson (R. F. Rashbrook), p. 500.  
 [Echoes of *The Castle of Indolence*.]  
 Ruskin: two unpublished letters (Rev. G. S. Hewins), pp. 500-1.  
 A note on Rider Haggard and Kipling (A. D.), pp. 501-2.

## PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Vol. i, 1948-9

'In the Savoy': a study in post-Restoration imprints (C. William Miller), pp. 41-6.

Three Shakespeare piracies in the eighteenth century (Giles E. Dawson), pp. 49-58.

The compositor of the 'Pied Bull' Lear (Philip Williams), pp. 61-8.

*The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis*, 1621, Englished by Master George Sandys (James G. McManaway), pp. 71-82.

The text of Chaucer's *Purse* (George B. Pace), pp. 105-21.

The headlines of William de Machlinia's *Yearbook*, 37 Henry VI (Curt F. Bühler), pp. 125-32.

Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, 1599: a bibliographical puzzle (Gerald J. Eberle), pp. 135-48.

New uses of watermarks as bibliographical evidence (Allan H. Stevenson), pp. 151-82.

[Based on plays printed by Thomas Cotes, 1639/40.]

A bibliographical note from the Beaumont and Fletcher First Folio (Guy A. Battle), pp. 187-8.

Textual revision in Crashaw's 'Vpon the bleeding crucifix' (George W. Williams), pp. 191-3.

The Hallam-Tennyson *Poems* (1830) (Mary Virginia Bowman), pp. 193-9.

## PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. xxviii, No. 2, April 1949

Elizabethan quantitative hexameters (G. L. Hendrickson), pp. 237-60.

Observations on certain differences in vocabulary between *Cleanness* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (John W. Clark), pp. 261-73.

*A Poore Help*, *Ralph Roister Doister*, and *Three Laws* (Cathleen Hayhurst Whear), pp. 312-19.

Milton, Marvell and 'Dradon' at Cromwell's funeral (W. Arthur Turner), pp. 320-3.

Wedding bells for Pamela (Alan Dugald McKillop), pp. 323-5.

[Anecdote of the blacksmith reading Richardson's novel.]

The revision of Tennyson's *Sir Galahad* (Mary Joan Donahue), pp. 326-9.

## STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

Vol. xvi, No. 3, July 1949

Barnaby Rich: an Elizabethan reviser at work (T. M. Cranfill), pp. 411-18.

Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* (John K. Mathison), pp. 419-39.

The extent of MS. revision of Canto I of *Don Juan* (Guy Steffan), pp. 440-52.

Swinburne's loyalty to the House of Stuart (Curtis Dahl), pp. 453-69.



er),

on),

ster

F.

I J.

n),

A.

W.

9.

nd

rst

r),

9.

8.

ly

p.